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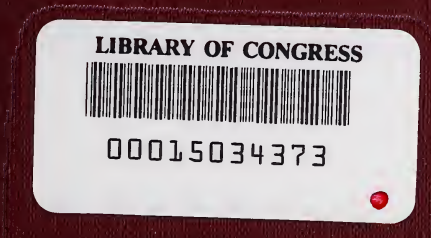

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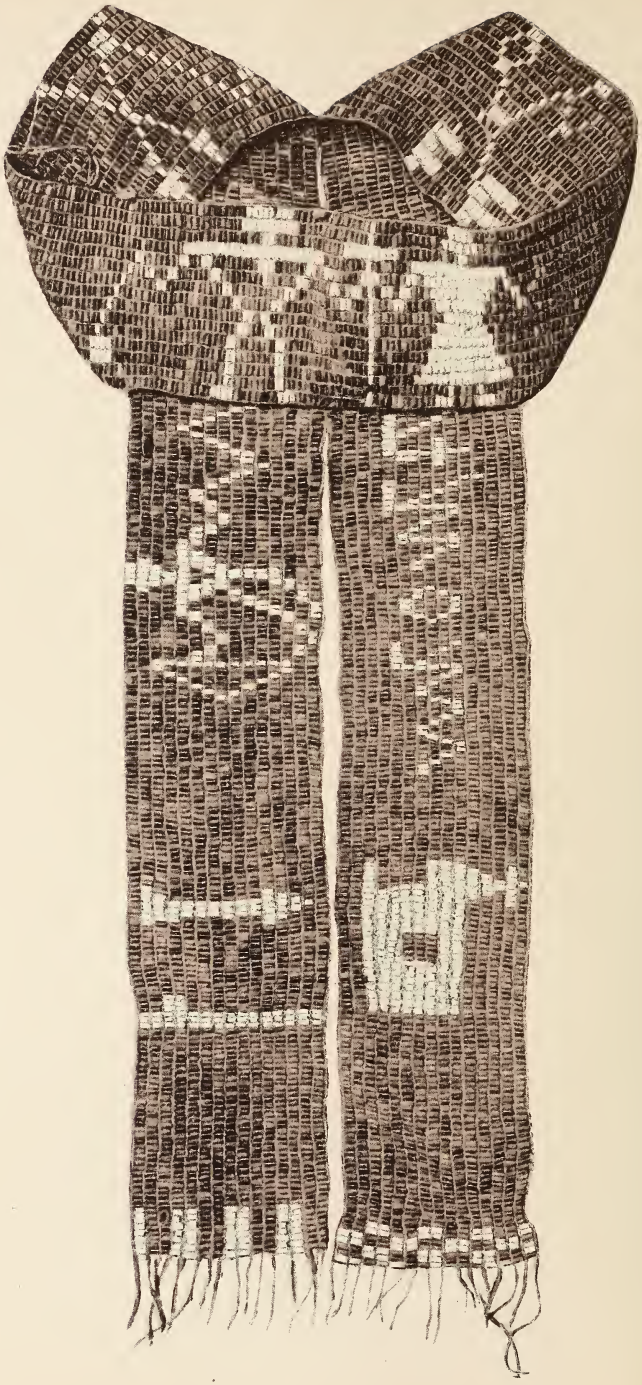

WAMPUM IN MUSEUM OF COLLEGIO DI PROPAGANDA FIDE. ROME

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 71

NATIVE CEMETERIES AND FORMS OF BURIAL EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

BY

DAVID I. BUSHNELL, Jr.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., May 20, 1919.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit the accompanying manuscript, entitled "Native Cemeteries and Forms of Burial East of the Mississippi," by David I. Bushnell, jr., and to recommend its publication, subject to your approval, as a bulletin of this Bureau.

Very respectfully,

J. WALTER FEWKES,
Chief.

DR. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

PREFACE

In the journals of many explorers and missionaries who traversed the great wilderness east of the Mississippi when it was yet the home of native tribes are references to the burial customs of the people with whom they came in contact. Villages were widely dispersed throughout the land, and often the places of burial were near by, differing in distant parts of the country, conforming with the manners of the tribe by whom the particular region was occupied. The native villages have now disappeared, although many sites are indicated by bits of pottery and other objects scattered over the surface, but frequently the cemeteries once belonging to the settlements may be discovered. The forms of burial varied. Among some tribes a period of months or years would intervene between the death of the person and the final disposition of the remains, and seldom were all the ceremonies attending death and burial recorded by a single writer, therefore it is necessary, when attempting to recount the entire procedure, to quote from several narratives. And in many instances the description of the last disposition of the dead will agree with the position of the remains now revealed in the ancient cemeteries, thus tending to identify the former occupants of the sites, and to verify the statements of early observers, many of which are presented on the following pages.

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NATIVE CEMETERIES AND FORMS OF BURIAL EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

By David I. Bushnell, Jr.

ALGONQUIAN GROUPS

When that part of America which extends westward from the Atlantic to the Mississippi was discovered by Europeans it was occupied by numerous tribes, speaking distinct languages, with many dialects. And as the habitations and other structures erected by the widely scattered tribes differed in form, size, and the material of which they were constructed, and presented many interesting characteristics (Bushnell, (1)), so did the cemeteries and forms of burial vary in distant parts of the country. In New England and the lower Hudson Valley were tribes belonging to the Algonquian family, many of which were often mentioned in the early records of the colonies. Their small villages, a cluster of mat or bark covered wigwams, frequently grouped within an encircling palisade, lay scattered along the coast, and inland up the valleys of many streams. They cultivated fields of corn and raised other vegetal products, and during certain seasons of the year collected vast quantities of oysters and clams to serve as food, as attested by the great accumulations of shells now encountered along the coast. Others of this linguistic group dominated the coast as far south as the central portion of the present State of North Carolina, thus including the people discovered by the English expeditions sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 and subsequent years, and the group of tribes which formed the Powhatan confederacy, so famed in the early history of Virginia. Like all tribes then living near the sea, they visited the coast for the purpose of gathering oysters and other mollusks, and to take fish in their weirs. During other seasons they would leave their villages and enter the virgin forests to hunt, thus securing both food and peltry, the latter to be used in making garments and various necessary articles.

Westward, beyond the mountains and the Ohio, were many Algonquian tribes, the best known being the Miami, the Sauk and Fox, the several tribes which constituted the loosely formed Illinois confederacy, the Menominee and scattered Ojibway of the north, and southward in the valley of the Ohio and elsewhere the widely dispersed Shawnee. While the Algonquian tribes of the East were sed-

entary, and continued to occupy their ancient sites for many years after first becoming known to Europeans, the majority of the western members of this great linguistic family were ever moving from place to place. This movement, however, may have begun only after certain of their enemies had secured firearms from the Dutch and French traders in the early years of the seventeenth century. The habitations and other structures reared by all the Algonquian tribes were quite similar in form and size.

NEW ENGLAND

Three centuries and more have elapsed since the Jesuit, Père Pierre Biard, of Grenoble, prepared an account of the manners and customs of several native tribes of New France, which then included within its bounds the eastern portions of the present State of Maine, and the adjoining provinces. He wrote more particularly of the "three tribes which are on good terms of friendship with us—the Montaguets, the Souriquois, and the Eteminquois." By these names the early French knew the three tribes now better known as the Montagnais, Micmac, and Malecite, all belonging to the great Algonquian family, and who occupied the region just mentioned. Although not always at peace with one another they undoubtedly had many customs in common, and these may have differed little from those of the neighboring tribes, all of which belonged to the same stock. And when recounting the ceremonies attending the death and burial of a member of one of these tribes he wrote: "The sick man having been appointed by the Autmoin to die . . . all the relations and neighbors assemble and, with the greatest possible solemnity, he delivers his funeral oration: he recites his heroic deeds, gives some directions to his family, recommends his friends: finally, says adieu. This is all there is of their wills. As to gifts, they make none at all; but, quite different from us, the survivors give some to the dying man." A feast is prepared, all gather, evidently in the presence of the dying man, and partake of the food, and "having banqueted they begin to express their sympathy and sorrowful Farewells, their hearts weep and bleed because their good friend is going to leave them and go away . . . they go on in this way until the dying man expires and then they utter horrible cries." These continue day and night and do not cease until the supply of food has been exhausted, the food having previously been provided by the dying man, and if there are no supplies "they only bury the dead man, and postpone the obsequies and ceremonies until another time and place, at the good pleasure of their stomachs. Meanwhile all the relatives and friends daub their faces with black, and very often paint themselves with other colors . . . To them black is a sign of grief and mourning. They bury

their dead in this manner: First they swathe the body and tie it up in skins; not lengthwise, but with the knees against the stomach and the head on the knees, as we are in our mother's womb. Afterwards they put it in the grave, which has been made very deep, not upon the back or lying down as we do, but sitting. A posture which they like very much, and which among them signifies reverence. For the children and the youths seat themselves thus in the presence of their fathers and of the old, whom they respect . . . When the body is placed, as it does not come up even with the ground on account of the depth of the grave, they arch the grave over with sticks, so that the earth will not fall back into it, and thus they cover up the tomb . . . If it is some illustrious personage they build a Pyramid or monument of interlacing poles; as eager in that for glory as we are in our marble and porphyry. If it is a man, they place there as a sign and emblem, his bow, arrows, and shield; if a woman, spoons, *matachias*, or jewels, ornaments, etc. I have nearly forgotten the most beautiful part of all; it is that they bury with the dead man all that he owns, such as his bag, his arrows, his skins and all his other articles and baggage, even his dogs if they have not been eaten. Moreover, the survivors add to these a number of other such offerings, as tokens of friendship . . . These obsequies finished, they flee from the place, and, from that time on, they hate all memory of the dead. If it happens that they are obliged to speak of him sometimes, it is under another and a new name." (Biard, (1), pp. 127–131.)

Dogs were among the gifts presented to the dying man by his friends, and "they kill these dogs in order to send them on before him into the other world," and they were eaten at the feast prepared at the time of the death, "for they find them palatable."

This general description would probably have applied to the burial customs of the tribes occupying the greater part of the country east of the Hudson, the present New England States, and the closely flexed burials are easily explained and clearly described. The association of many objects with the remains is verified by the discoveries made by the Pilgrims when they landed on Cape Cod, early in November, 1620, and interesting indeed is their old narrative. They went ashore on the unknown coast to explore the woods and learn what they might contain. They advanced a short distance and encountered small mounds of earth which were found to cover pits or caches filled with corn. And then they found another: "It also was covered with boords, so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to digge it up, where we found, first a Matt, and under that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and under that boord about three quarters long, finely carved and paynted, with three tynes, or broches on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Matts we found Boules,

Trayes, Dishes, and such like Trinkets: at length we came to a faire new Matt, and under that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other less, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed, there was bound up with it a knife, a pack-needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a Saylers canvas Cassack, and a payre of cloth breeches. . . . We opened the less bundle likewise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the leggs, and other parts of it was bound strings, and bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knacks; we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with us, and covered the Corps up again." (Mourt, (1), p. 11.)

This was probably just north of Pamet River, in Truro village, where at the present day rising ground, slightly more elevated than the surrounding country, continues to be known as Corn Hill. Near the western edge of this area it becomes more level and falls away abruptly on the shore of Cape Cod Bay, rising some 20 feet above high tide and exposing bare sand with little vegetation. During the summer of 1903 a dark line was visible on the face of the bank at an average depth of about 2 feet below the present surface and it could be traced for several hundred yards along the shore. This dark stratum, several inches in thickness, proved to be an old sod line, and at three points where it was somewhat thicker than elsewhere fire beds were discovered and slight excavations revealed fragments of pottery, bits of charred bones, and ashes. This may have been the surface upon which stood the village of three centuries ago, and if so, the land upon which the Pilgrims trod has been covered by a mass of drifting sand, swept by the winds across the narrow cape.

Sailing from their safe anchorage near the end of the cape, the Pilgrims, on December 6, 1620, arrived in the vicinity of Wellfleet Bay, named by them *Grampus Bay*, by reason of discovering "eight or ten Saluages about a dead Grampus," and near by "we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompassed with a large Palazado, like a Church-yard, with yong spires foure or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could two or three foot in the ground, within it was full of graves, some bigger and some lesse, some were also paled about, & others had like an *Indian* house made over them, but not matted: those Graves were more sumptuous than those at *Corne-hill*, yet we digged none of them up . . . without the Palazado were graves also, but not so costly." (Op. cit., p. 17.) Not far away were several frames of wigwams, but the mat covers had been removed and the site had been temporarily abandoned.

The two burials encountered by the Pilgrims at Corn Hill were those of Indians and had evidently been made within a year. The "yellow haire" had been caused by the process of decay and would soon have disappeared. The objects of iron had been obtained from some Europeans who had touched upon the coast or whose vessel had been wrecked. Now, three centuries later, were these ancient burial places to be discovered it is doubtful whether any traces would remain in addition to the mass of "perfect red Powder," insoluble red oxide of iron (Fe_2O_3). All human remains, mats, bows, and other objects of a perishable nature would have turned to dust and disappeared. But any ornaments or implements of stone which might have been deposited in the pit grave would remain. Within recent years many similar pits, with masses of the red oxide mingled with various objects of stone, have been encountered not far from the coast in Lincoln and Hancock Counties, Maine. But not a particle of bone, or even a tooth, has been discovered within the ancient pits to indicate the presence of human remains. Nevertheless they were probably once like the burials found by the Pilgrims at Corn Hill, but now all substance of a perishable nature has vanished. They were probably made by a kindred Algonquian tribe and may not be older than those occurring on Cape Cod. One of the most interesting groups of such pit graves was exposed at Bucksport, 18 miles below Bangor, on the left bank of the Penobscot; another was discovered on the west shore of Lake Alamoosook, both in Hancock County, Maine. (Willoughby, (1).)

Similar deposits of the insoluble red oxide were associated with burials in an ancient cemetery discovered in 1913 in Warren, Bristol County, Rhode Island. This appears to have been a burying ground of the Wampanoag, within whose lands it was. When the site was destroyed some of the skeletons were exposed, together with a large number of objects of English, Dutch, and French origin, dating from the years between the first contact with the Europeans until the latter part of the seventeenth century. In some burials copper kettles were placed over the heads of the bodies. In such cases the copper salts acted as a preservative. One grave was of the greatest interest. It was that of a man well advanced in years, and associated with the remains were two ancient English swords, one or more gunlocks, a roll of military braid, and the traces of a feather headdress in a case. The suggestion has been made that these were the remains of the great Wampanoag chief, Massasoit, who met the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1621, ever remained a friend of the colonists, and who died in 1662. One of his sons, Metacomet, became known as King Philip, famous in colonial history and leader in the war against the English settlements which terminated in the disas-

trous defeat of the Indians and the death of their leader, August 12, 1676.

Thus having three distinct references to the use of red oxide—one on the coast of Maine in what should probably be accepted as graves, another in Rhode Island, and the third on Cape Cod—would make it appear that placing quantities of finely powdered red oxide of iron in graves with the human remains was a well-established custom of the Algonquian tribes found occupying the coast of New England when that rugged shore was settled by the English colonists. Similar burials will probably be discovered at some later day which will tend to substantiate this belief.

Closely flexed burials, examples of which are shown in plate 2, are characterstic of precolonial New England, but later, after coming under the influence and teachings of missionaries and others, the same tribes no longer used this form of burial, but placed the remains of the dead in an extended position, either wrapped in bark or deposited in roughly made wooden coffins. The latter form was encountered during the partial exploration of the ancient Niantic cemetery, known as Fort Neck Burying Ground, in Charlestown, Washington County, Rhode Island, during the month of September, 1912. Another site, now designated "Indian Burying Hill," likewise in Charlestown, and now a State reservation, is known as the place of burial of the Niantic chiefs, among them Ninigret, by whom the Narraganset, who escaped destruction during King Philip's war, were later received.

According to Prof. H. H. Wilder, by whom the "Fort Neck Burying Ground" was examined, "the bodies had evidently been buried in winding-sheets only, as nothing was found indicating clothing." This would be consistent with the old custom of these Indians, as Roger Williams told of one "who winds up and buries the dead," and describing the burial customs said: "Mockkuttauce, One of the chiefest esteeme, who winds up and buries the dead; commonly some wise, grave, and well descended man hath that office. When they come to the Grave, they lay the dead by the Grave's mouth, and then all sit downe and lament; that I have seen teares run down the cheeks of stoutest Captaines, as well as little children, in abundance; and after the dead is laid in Grave, and sometime (in some parts) some goods cast in with them, they have then a second lamentation, and upon the Grave is spread the Mat that the party died on, the Dish he eat in, and sometimes a faire Coat of skin hung upon the next tree to the Grave, which none will touch, but suffer it there to rot with the Dead: Yea I saw with mine owne eyes that at my late comming forth of the Countrey, the chiefe and most aged peaceable Father of the Countrey, Caunounicus, having buried his Sonne, he burned his own Palace, and all his goods in it

(amongst them to a great value) in a solemne remembrance of his sonne and in a kind of humble, Expiation to the Gods, who, (as they believe) had taken his sonne from him." (Williams, (1), pp. 161–162.)

For this great Narraganset chief, Canonicus, to have destroyed his dwelling, with all its contents, at the time of the death and burial of his son was contrary to the usual customs of the Algonquian tribes, although such was the habit of several tribes of the South.

There is reason to suppose the burial customs of the many tribes who occupied New England did not differ to any great degree, and all may have had similar periods of mourning and enacted the same ceremonies to express their grief. Among the Housatonic or River Indians, later to be known as the Stockbridge Indians, the period of mourning was about one year. Thus it was described in the year 1736:

"The *Keutikaw* is a Dance which finishes the *Mourning for the Dead*, and is celebrated about twelve Months after the Decease, when the Guests invited make Presents to the Relations of the Deceas'd, to make up their Loss and to end their Mourning. The Manner of doing it is this: The Presents prepar'd are deliver'd to a Speaker appointed for the Purpose; who, laying them upon the Shoulders of some elderly Person, makes a Speech shewing the Design of their present Meeting, and the Presents prepar'd. Then he takes them and distributes them to the *Mourners*, adding some Words of Consolation, and desiring them to forget their Sorrow, and accept of those Presents to make up their loss. After this they eat together and make Merry." (Hopkins, (1), p. 38.)

This paragraph was taken from Sergeant's journal and bore the date January, 1736. It evidently recorded the customs of the Housatonic Indians at the time of the arrival of the missionary, and may have been the ancient custom of the Algonquian tribes of the region. Human remains have been discovered at various points in the valley of the Housatonic within the bounds of the lands once occupied by the tribe whose name the river perpetuates, and tradition locates one or more cemeteries west of the stream near the foot of the mountains, but no large group of burials is known to have ever been encountered.

Cairns, heaps of stones usually on some high and prominent point, are found throughout the southern mountains, but seldom have they been mentioned in the older settled parts of the north One, however, stood in the country of the Housatonic Indians. As early as 1720 some English traders saw a large heap of stones on the "east side of Westenhook or Housatonic River, so called, on the southerly end of the mountain called Monument Mountain, between Stockbridge and Great Barrington." This circumstance gave rise to the name which

has ever since been applied to the mountain, a prominent landmark in the valley. This ancient pile of stones may have marked the grave of some great man who lived and died before the coming of the colonists.

Many ancient graves have been discovered at different times and in widely separated parts of New England. Probably the most famed of the many burials thus encountered was the so-called "Skeleton in Armor," a closely flexed skeleton discovered in a sand bank at Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1831. Traces of several thicknesses of bark cloth were found about the remains and on the outside was a casing of cedar bark. Associated with the body were objects of brass, one being a plate of that material about 14 inches in length, and encircling the skeleton were traces of a belt to which had been attached many brass tubes each about 4½ inches in length and one-quarter inch in diameter. The belt, made of metal obviously of European origin, was thought to be a piece of armor, which resulted in the name applied to the skeleton. The occurrence of brass with this burial is of interest as it is conclusive proof that flexed burials were prepared after the coming of the colonists. This example may date from about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Flexed skeletons are usually found in single graves, although two closely bound burials were discovered in one grave, on the left bank of the Connecticut River, at North Hadley, Massachusetts. This was on the site of an Indian village where, about the year 1675, the chief was named Quanquant, *The Crow*.

Cemeteries which may date from the earliest times are to be seen in the vicinity of Plymouth, and one of the largest in all New England is located in the town of Chilmark, on the island of Marthas Vineyard. Here 97 graves are marked by flat stones gathered from the surrounding surface and there are undoubtedly others which are not distinguishable. Several other burying places are known on the island, one being at Christiantown, the old *Manitwatootan*, or "God's Town," of 1668. It is well known that Marthas Vineyard was formerly the home of a large native population, by whom it was called *Capawock*.

MANHATTAN ISLAND AND SOUTHWARD

An early description of the burial customs of the native inhabitants of New Netherlands, probably based on some ceremonies witnessed on or near Manhattan Island, explains the manner and position in which the remains were deposited in the grave.

"Whenever an Indian departs this life, all the residents of the place assemble at the funeral. To a distant stranger, who has not a friend or relative in the place, they pay the like respect. They are

equally careful to commit the body to the earth, without neglecting any of the usual ceremonies, according to the standing of the deceased. In deadly diseases, they are faithful to sustain and take care of each other. Whenever a soul has departed, the nearest relatives extend the limbs and close the eyes of the dead; after the body has been watched and wept over several days and nights, they bring it to the grave, wherein they do not lay it down, but place it in a sitting posture upon a stone or a block of wood, as if the body were sitting upon a stool; then they place a pot, kettle, platter, spoon, with some provisions and money, near the body in the grave; this they say is necessary for the journey to the other world. Then they place as much wood around the body as will keep the earth from it. Above the grave they place a large pile of wood, stone or earth, and around and above the same they place palisades resembling a small dwelling." (Van der Donck, (1), pp. 201–202.)

This account may be equally applicable to the Algonquian tribes of the valley of the Hudson and the neighboring Iroquoian people who lived a short distance west of that stream. Evidently there is one slight error in the description, as the body was not placed in a horizontal position but arranged in a "sitting posture." It would have been useless to have extended the limbs as mentioned. Probably soon after death the body was flexed and wrapped, preparatory to being placed in the grave, and as will be shown later, this was likewise the custom among other tribes. It is interesting to recall how often the covering over the grave was likened to a small dwelling, and this tends to remind one of the customs of the ancient people of Egypt who, during the X, XI, and XII Dynasties (3600 to 3300 B. C.), placed pottery models of the dwellings of the living on the graves of the dead, "soul-houses" of various types and sizes, representing many forms of habitations and other structures. These were prepared as places for the soul to remain, to appease it and prevent it returning to the village. Could the dwelling-like covering over the graves of American aborigines have resulted from similar beliefs and desires?

A number of burials have been encountered at different times in the vicinity of Manhattan Island, on Staten Island, and near Pelham and other near-by places on the shore of the sound. A few years ago a Munsee cemetery was uncovered near Montague, New Jersey, where both flexed and extended burials were unearthed. This burial place evidently belonged to the transition period, the earlier graves being of the primitive form, the later containing various objects of European make. The Munsee, just mentioned, formed one of the three principal divisions of the Delaware, and it is within reason to suppose that when some of the burials discovered in the cemetery at

Montague had been made ceremonies had been enacted similar to that described by Heckewelder. He wrote:

DELAWARE CEREMONY, 1762

"I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask;* . . . all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions. . . . At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women especially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, '*She is no more! She is no more!*' The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters." The following day the body was placed in a coffin which had been made by a carpenter employed by the Indian trader. The remains had been "dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her garments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches, one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands, forming a kind of mittens, worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches. Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point. On the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching to a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different coloured ribands sewed on, the outer edges being finished off with small beads also of various colours. Her mocksens were ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with coloured porcupine quills, on the borders of which, round the ancles, were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball. All these things together with the vermilion paint, judiciously laid on, so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner, that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it." Later, "the spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin." These included articles of clothing, a dressed deerskin for the making of moccasins, needles, a pewter basin, "with a number of trinkets and other small articles which she was fond of while living." The coffin was then closed, the lid being held in place by three straps. Across it were then placed three poles, 5 or 6 feet in length, "also fastened with straps cut up

from a tanned elk hide; and a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence." Six persons then grasped the ends of the three poles and carried the coffin to the grave. The six consisted of four men, at the front and back, and two women between. "Several women from a house about thirty yards off, now started off, carrying large kettles, dishes, spoons, and dried elk meat in baskets, and for the burial place, and the signal being given for us to move with the body, the women who acted as chief mourners made the air resound with their shrill cries. The order of the procession was as follows: first a leader or guide, from the spot where we were to the place of interment. Next followed the corpse, and close to it *Shingask*, the husband of the deceased. He was followed by the principal war chiefs and counsellors of the nation, after whom came men of all ranks and descriptions. Then followed the women and children, and lastly two stout men carrying loads of European manufactured goods upon their backs. The chief mourners on the women's side, not having joined in the ranks, took their own course to the right, at the distance of about fifteen or twenty yards from us, but always opposite to the corpse." Thus they moved along for a distance of about 200 yards to the open grave, and when it was reached the lid was removed from the coffin, and "the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semilunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave. In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. . . . At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called to the deceased to 'arise and go with them and not forsake them.' They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the

body, crying out all the while, 'Arise, arise! Come with us!' . . . As soon as these women had gone through their part of the ceremony, which took up about fifteen minutes, the six men whom they had interrupted and who had remained at the distance of about five feet from the corpse, again stepped forward and did their duty. They let down the coffin into the earth, and laid two thin poles of about four inches diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways, and close together over the grave, after which they retired." The husband, *Shingask*, then came slowly forward and walked over the poles, and continued on to the prairie. Then a "painted post, on which were drawn various figures, emblematic of the deceased's situation in life and of her having been the wife of a valiant warrior, was brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note, who placed it in such a manner that it rested on the coffin at the head of the grave, and took great care that a certain part of the drawings should be exposed to the east, or rising of the sun; then while he held the post erect and properly situated, some women filled up the grave with hoes, and having placed dry leaves and pieces of bark over it, so that none of the fresh ground was visible, they retired, and some men, with timbers fitted before hand for the purpose, enclosed the grave about breast-high, so as to secure it from the approach of the wild beasts."

After this food was prepared and passed about, then the presents were distributed, the many things which had been carried by the two men in the rear of the procession. Those who had rendered assistance were given the most valuable and highly prized pieces, but no one was omitted. Articles to the value of about $200 were thus given away. Men, women, and children alike were remembered. (Heckewelder, (1), pp. 264–270.) At dusk after the burial, a kettle of food was placed upon the grave, and this was renewed every evening for three weeks, after which time, so they thought, food was no longer required by the spirit.

When an Indian died away from his village, so Heckewelder wrote (op. cit., p. 270), "great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are traveling, the body is inclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then inclose the grave with a fence of poles." These scattered burials, made away from settlements, readily explain the occurrence of the isolated graves often found at the present time, and few if any objects of a lasting nature were deposited with the bodies.

Heckewelder did not give the exact location of the burial of the wife of the Delaware chief *Shingask*, although he gave the date, 1762, and elsewhere in his narrative mentioned living at that time "at Tuscarawas on the Muskingum." To have reached Tuscarawas he would have traversed the great trail leading westward from western Pennsylvania, passing the mouth of Beaver River, a stream which flows from the north and enters the right bank of the Ohio 28½ miles below Pittsburgh. On the map which accompanied Washington's Journal, printed in London in 1754, a Delaware village is indicated on the right bank of the Ohio just below the mouth of the Beaver. Two years later, on a small map in the London Magazine for December, 1756, this Delaware village bore the name *Shingoes* town, and so it continued on various maps until long after the Revolution, although the name was spelled in many ways. Undoubtedly *Shingask* of Heckewelder was the *Shingoe* whose town stood at the mouth of the Beaver, and here occurred the burial of the wife of the Delaware chief, probably when Heckewelder was on his way to Tuscarawas, some miles westward.

When Col. Bouquet traversed the same trail on his expedition against the native villages beyond the Ohio he crossed Beaver Creek. This was on Saturday, October 6, 1764, and there were then standing near the ford "about seven houses, which were deserted and destroyed by the Indians, after their defeat at Bushy Run, when they forsook all their remaining settlements in this part of the country." The battle of Bushy Run took place during the two days, August 5 and 6, 1763, and consequently the village at the mouth of the Beaver, evidently *Shingoes* town, was abandoned the year after it was visited by Heckewelder, but the name continued on certain maps long after that time.

Some very interesting references to the burial customs of the people of the same region, more particularly the Delaware, are contained in a work by another missionary. It was said that the place of burial was some distance from the dwellings, and that the graves were usually prepared by old women, as the younger members of the tribes disliked such work. "Before they had hatchets and other tools, they used to line the inside of the grave with the bark of trees, and when the corpse was let down, they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark, and then the earth thrown in, to fill up the grave. But now they usually place three boards, not nailed together, into the grave, in such a manner that the corpse may lie between them. A fourth board being laid over it as a cover, the grave is filled up with earth. Now and then they procure a proper coffin. . . . If they have a coffin, it is placed in the grave empty. Then the corpse is carried out, lying upon a linen cloth, full in view, that the finery and ornaments, with all the effects

left by the deceased, may appear to advantage, and accompanied by as great a number of friends as can be collected. It is then let down into the coffin, covered with the cloth, and the lid being nailed down, the grave is filled up with earth. During the letting down of the corpse the women set up a dreadful howl, but it is deemed a shame in a man to weep. Yet in silence and unobserved, they cannot refrain from tears. At the head of the corpse, which always lies towards the east, a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried there. If the deceased was the Chief of a tribe or nation, this post is only neatly carved, but not painted. But if he was a captain, it is painted red, and his head and glorious deeds are pourtrayed upon it. This is also done in honor of a great warrior, his warlike deeds being exhibited in red colors. The burial-post of a physician is hung with small tortoise-shells or a calabash, which he used in his practice. After the burial the greater part of the goods left by the deceased are distributed among those who assisted in burying him, and are not related to him. . . . After the ceremony is over, the mother, grandmother, and other near relations retire after sunset, and in the morning early, to weep over the grave. This they repeat daily for some time, but gradually less and less, till the mourning is over. Sometimes they place victuals upon the grave, that the deceased may not suffer hunger." And following this is an account of the mourning for the dead. (Loskiel, (1), pt. 1, pp. 119–121.)

In the preceding description of the manner in which graves were prepared by the Delaware about the last years of the eighteenth century there is something quite suggestive of the stone-lined graves. In both instances pits were dug, to be lined in earlier days with thin, natural slabs of stone, and later, when boards were obtainable, they were used in the place of stones. Then when coffins were to be had they were looked upon as a ready-prepared grave lining, one which did not require any fitting together when placed inside the grave. And so the grave would be dug of a size to accommodate the wooden lining—the coffin—which had already been fastened together, and when the grave was thus lined the body would be placed within it. Such was the custom and such was the characteristic reasoning of the Indian.

THE NANTICOKE

The Nanticoke, who lived on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, were connected, linguistically, with the Delaware, and before the latter removed westward beyond the Alleghenies they were neighboring tribes. The Nanticoke were encountered by Capt. John Smith and his party of colonists from Jamestown in 1608, living on or near the river which continues to bear their tribal name. For many years they were enemies of the colonists, but remained in the region

until about 1730, when the majority of the tribe began moving northward, stopping at the mouth of the Juniata, and elsewhere in the valley of the Susquehanna, at last arriving in southern New York on the eastern branch of the latter stream, where they rested under protection of the Iroquois, who then dominated that section. Tribal movements were often slow and deliberate, with stops of years on the way, and a generation elapsed between the starting of the Nanticoke from the Eastern Shore and their arrival among the Iroquois. Like many tribes, they removed the remains of the dead from their old home to their new settlements. This was witnessed by Heckewelder, who wrote (op. cit., pp. 75–76): "These Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends from the burial place to a place of deposit in the country they dwell in. In earlier times they were known to go from Wyoming and Chemenk, to fetch the bones of their dead from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, even when the bodies were in a putrid state, so that they had to take off the flesh and scrape the bones clean, before they could carry them along. I well remember having seem them between the years 1750 and 1760, loaded with such bones, which, being fresh, caused a disagreeable stench, as they passed through the town of Bethlehem."

One of the ancient Nanticoke sites, one probably occupied at the time of the discovery of the people by the Virginia colonists, stood on the left bank of Choptank River, some 2 miles below Cambridge, Dorchester County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. This village was occupied until the year 1722, or until the tribe began their movement northward. Since this site was abandoned, sand, blown and drifted by the winds, has covered the original surface to a depth of many feet. And during the same interval the exposed face of the cliff has receded, caused by the encroachment of the waters of the Choptank. Now, as the result of these two natural phenomena, the surface once occupied by the village of the Nanticoke appears on the face of the cliff as a dark line or stratum, from one-half to 1 foot in thickness, and extending for about one-third of a mile along the shore, thus proving the extent of the ancient settlement. At one point on the exposed face of the cliff a quantity of human bones were visible, and when examined this proved to be "a hard-set horizontal bed of human bones and skulls, many of them well preserved, about 1½ to 2 feet thick, 10 feet long, 3 feet under the village site stratum," and further excavation showed this mass of bones to be "of irregular, circular shape, 25 feet in longest by 20 feet in shortest diameter and 1½ to 2 feet thick (thickest in the middle, and tapering at the sides)." A short distance inward and directly above the larger deposit was another mass of bones, this being about 7 feet long, 7 inches thick, and 2 feet wide. The

two deposits were separated by about 1½ feet of sand. "In the main or lower deposit some of the bones had, others had not, been subjected to fire. The bone layer might have been subdivided thus: First, the bottom (6 inches), where the bones were in small fragments, blackened and bedded in masses of charcoal and ashes; second, the middle, next above (5 to 10 inches), where the skulls and bones, though somewhat charred, were intact; and third, the top (6 to 8 inches), where the bones, though mixed with bits of charcoal, showed no direct trace of fire. The conditions proved that many skeletons had been burned in the lower part of the main bed." The bones in the smaller deposit "were generally intact in tolerable preservation, and in spite of the bits of scattered charcoal found with them, showed no direct signs of charring." (Mercer, (1), pp. 93–94.)

Ossuaries of this form are not characteristic of any Algonquian tribe, but at once suggest the customs of the Huron and other northern Iroquoian people. This large deposit of human remains may have resulted through some great emergency, at some time when it became necessary to dispose of many bodies which were placed in one common grave, rather than preparing a separate one for each. Single graves have been exposed on the face of the cliff, evidently near the ossuaries, which tends to prove this particular spot to have been the cemetery adjoining the ancient village.

The county of Dorchester is bounded on the southeast by the Nanticoke River, and human remains have been discovered on the right bank of the stream just above the village of Vienna, and undoubtedly many other burial places have been encountered within this region, once comparatively thickly peopled, no records of which are preserved.

THE POWHATAN CONFEDERACY

It is to be regretted that more is not known concerning the burial customs of the Algonquian tribes of Virginia, those who constituted the Powhatan confederacy, people with whom the Jamestown colonists came in contact during the spring of 1607. Several accounts are preserved, but unfortunately all are lacking in detail. Capt. Smith included burial customs under the general caption *Of their Religion*, and in 1612 wrote:

"But their chiefe God they worship is the Divell. Him they call *Oke* and serve him more of feare than love. They say they have conference with him, and fashion themselves as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples, they have his image evill favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines, copper, and beads: and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformity may well suit with such a God. By him is commonly the

sepulcher of their kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dryed upon hurdles till they bee verie dry, and so about the most of their jointes and necke they hang bracelets or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they use to weare: their inwards they stuffe with copper beads and cover with a skin, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappe they them very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheetes. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their kings have, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests. . . . . In every Territory of a *werowance* is a Temple and a Priest or 2 or 3 more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack* at *Pamaunke*, neare unto which is a house Temple or place of *Powhatans*. Upon the top of certaine redde sandy hils in the woods, there are 3 great houses filled with images of their kings and Divels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare 60 foot in length, built arbor wise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that none but the Priestes and kings dare come into them: nor the Savages dare not go up the river in boats by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or *Pocones*, into the river, for feare their *Oke* should be offended and revenged of them." (Smith, (1), pp. 75–76.)

Strachey's account of the burial customs does not differ greatly from the preceding; both writers referred to the same time and generation, and few of the natives then living had ever seen a white man until the coming of the Jamestown colonists in 1607.

A temple or tomb similar to those described by Smith was encountered by the English on the coast of North Carolina during the summer of 1585, at which time it was sketched by the artist John White, a member of the second expedition sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh. The original drawing, together with many others made at the same time, is preserved in the British Museum, London. A photograph of the original is now reproduced in plate 3, *b*. The legend on the sketch reads: "The Tombe of their Cherounes or chiefe personages their flesh clene taken of from the bones save the skynn and heare of theire heads, wch flesh is dried and enfolded in matts laide at theire feete, their bones also being made dry ar covered wth deare skynns not altering their forme or proportion. With theire Kywash, which is an Image of woode keeping the deade."

This drawing was engraved and used by De Bry as plate 22 in Hariot's Narrative, published in 1591. But in the engraving the tomb, as drawn by White, is represented as placed within an inclosure, evidently the "temple," and this would conform with the legend near one of the buildings shown standing at the village of Secotan. In White's view of this ancient town the structure in the

lower left corner bears this description: "The howse wherin the Tombe of their werowans standeth." This is copied in plate 3, *a*, being a detail from the large sketch of Secotan. It is evident from the early drawing that the so-called "tomb" was an elevated platform erected within a structure of ordinary form, and the whole must have resembled rather closely the "temples" or "bone-houses" of certain Muskhogean tribes of the south, as will be shown later. But unfortunately nothing is told by the old writers of the final disposition of the human remains which were first placed in the "temples," as at Secotan. Later they may have been collected and deposited in graves, or they may have become scattered and lost, but this is doubtful.

The temple tombs, as already described, appear to have stood near, or rather belonged to, the larger, more permanent settlements, and so became the resting places of the more important dead of the community. However, it is quite evident the remains of the chief men were not placed in ordinary graves, even though a "temple" was not available. This is of great interest and is revealed in a deposition made by one Francis Tomes, relating to the Wyanoak or Weanoc, in the year 1661, after they had removed southward from the banks of the James. The deposition reads in part: "Then came in sight of the Wyanoak Indian Town which was on the South Side of Wyanoak River where they forded over to the town wherein stood an English built house, in which the King had been shott & an apple Orchard. From thence they went about two or three miles to the Westward where in an elbow of a swamp stood a Fort near which in the swamp the murdered King was laid on a scaffold & covered with Skins & matts which I saw." (Virginia Magazine, (1), p. 3.)

But a simpler form of burial existed among the native inhabitants of tidewater Virginia, and probably the great majority found their final resting places in graves prepared near the villages. Smith wrote (op. cit., p. 75): "For their ordinary burials, they digge a deep hole in the earth with sharpe stakes; and the corpses being lapped in skins and mats with their jewels, they lay them upon sticks in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oile, doe sit 24 howers in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may express their great passions."

Very few ancient burial places have been discovered within the region described by Smith, or probably it would be more correct to say few records of such discoveries, if made, have been preserved, therefore it is gratifying to find a single reference which tends to verify Smith's account of "their ordinary burials." This refers to discoveries made about the year 1835 on the right bank of the Chickahominy, in Charles City County, Virginia, on the land of Col. J. S.

Stubblefield. It mentioned a large shell heap which extended for some 150 yards along the bank of the stream and had a width of from 30 to 40 yards, and continued by saying: "In this deposite of shells are found a number of human bones of all sizes, from the smallest infant to the full grown man, interred in pits of various size, and circular form; and in each pit are found intermingled, human bones of every size. Standing in one place I counted fifty of these hollows, from each of which had been taken the remains of human beings who inhabited this country before the present race of whites." (Christian, (1), p. 150.)

This site does not appear to have been known to Capt. Smith, as no town is shown by him as standing on the right bank of the river, in what would probably have been included in the present Charles City County. The burials discovered in 1835 may have been made before the days of the colony.

WEST OF THE ALLEGHENIES

The burial customs of some western Algonquian tribes were, in many respects, quite similar to those of the New England Indians. It will be recalled that soon after the *Mayflower* touched at Cape Cod a party of the Pilgrims went ashore and during their explorations discovered several groups of graves, some of which "had like an *Indian* house made over them, but not matted." They may when erected have been covered with mats. The similarity between this early reference and the description of certain Ojibway graves, two centuries and more later, is very interesting. Writing from "*American Fur Company's trading establishment, Fond du Lac, July* 30, 1826," McKenney told of an Ojibway grave then standing at that post, near the extreme southwestern corner of Lake Superior. "The Indians' graves are first covered over with bark. Over the grave the same shelter is made, and of the same materials, as enter into the form and structure of a lodge. Poles are stuck into the ground, and bent over, and fastened at the top; and these are covered with bark. Thus the grave is inclosed. An opening is left like that in the door of a lodge. Before this door (I am describing a grave that is here), a post is planted, and the dead having been a warrior, is painted red. Near this post, a pole is stuck in the ground, about ten feet long. From the top of this pole is suspended the ornaments of the deceased. From this, I see hanging a strand of beads, some strips of white fur, several trinkets, six bits of tobacco, that looked like *quids*, and a little frame of a circular form, with net work, in the center of which (it being of thread) is fastened *a scalp*, about three inches in diameter, the hair of which is of a dark brown colour, and six inches long. In the top of the red post are three feathers." (McKenney, (1), pp. 283–284.)

Three days before, on July 27, McKenney entered in his journal: "We are yet about eighteen miles from the Fond du Lac. At this place, Burnt river is a place of divination, the seat of a *jongleux's* incantations. It is a circle, made of eight poles, twelve feet high, and crossing at the top, which being covered in with mats, or bark, he enters, and foretells future events!"

The manner in which the bodies had been placed in the graves of the Fond du Lac cemetery was probably similar to that followed by other members of the tribe, as described by one well versed in the customs of the Ojibway: "When an Ojibway dies, his body is placed in a grave, generally in a sitting posture, facing the west. With the body are buried all the articles needed in life for a journey. If a man, his gun, blanket, kettle, fire steel, flint, and moccasins; if a woman, her moccasins, axe, portage collar, blanket and kettle." (Warren, (1), pp. 72–73.) And following this is an account of the Ojibway belief of happenings after death; how "the soul is supposed to stand immediately after the death of the body, on a deep beaten path, which leads westward." He first comes to strawberries, which he gathers to eat on the way, and soon "reaches a deep, rapid stream of water, over which lies the much dreaded Ko-go-gaup-o-gun or rolling and sinking bridge." Thence, after traveling four days, and camping at night, "the soul arrives in the land of spirits," where all is joy and happiness.

A form of scaffold burial was known to the same people, but never practiced to any great extent. Such a burial was seen by McKenney standing on an island in St. Louis River, opposite the American Fur Co.'s establishment, during the summer of 1826. He wrote at that time: "One mode of burying the dead, among the Chippeways, is, to place the coffin, or box, containing their remains, on two cross pieces, nailed, or tied with wattap to four poles. The poles are about ten feet high. They plant near these posts, the wild hop, or some other kind of running vine, which spreads over and covers the coffin. I saw one of these on the island, and as I have described it. It was the coffin of a child about four years old. . . . . I have a sketch of it. I asked the chief why his people disposed of their dead in that way? He answered, they did not like to put them out of their sight so soon by putting them under ground. Upon a platform they could see the box that contained their remains, and that was a comfort to them." (Op. cit., pp. 305–306.)

The sketch mentioned was undoubtedly drawn by J. O. Lewis and was used as an illustration in McKenney's narrative. This is now reproduced in plate 4, *a*, while in *b* of the same plate is shown a view of the buildings of the American Fur Co. as they then stood at Fond du Lac, derived from the same work and drawn by the same artist. Across the stream are the wigwams of the Indians, and

near the lower right corner of the picture are two small inclosures, two small cemeteries, the smaller belonging to the Indians, the larger being reserved for the whites.

Three years before McKenney visited Fond du Lac the expedition led by Maj. S. H. Long traversed the country of the Ojibway, and when describing the burial customs of the tribe it was said:

"The usual mode of disposing of their dead consists in interring them. It has been observed that the Chippewa graves are always dug very deep, at least 6 or 8 feet; whereas the Dacotas make but shallow graves. Great respect is paid by the Chippewas to the corpses of their distinguished men; they are wrapped up in cloths, blankets, or bark, and raised on scaffolds. We heard of a very distinguished chief of theirs, who died upwards of 40 years since, and was deposited on a scaffold near Fort Charlotte, the former grand depot of the North-west Company. When the company were induced to remove their depot to the mouth of the Kamanatekwoya, and construct Fort William, the Indians imagined that it would be unbecoming the dignity of their friend to rest anywhere but near a fort; they therefore conveyed his remains to Fort William, erected a scaffold near it, and upon it they placed the body of their revered chief; whenever there is occasion for it they renew its shroud. As a mark of respect to the deceased, who was very friendly to white men, the company have planted a British flag over his remains, which attention was extremely gratifying to the Indians." (Keating, (1), II, pp. 159–160.) This would have been about 175 miles northeast of Fond du Lac, as Fort William stood on the mainland, north of Isle Royale, in Lake Superior. Fort Charlotte was at the end of Grand Portage, some 25 miles southwest of Fort William, and consequently nearer Fond du Lac.

Referring to the Ojibway belief in a future state after death, the same writer remarked:

"The Chippewas believe that there is in man an essence, entirely distinct from the body; they call it Ó′chéchâg, and appear to apply to it the qualities which we refer to the soul. They believe that it quits the body at the time of death, and repairs to what they term Chéké Chékchékâmé. This region is supposed to be situated to the south, and on the shores of the Great Ocean. Previous to arriving there they meet with a stream, which they are obliged to cross upon a large snake that answers the purpose of a bridge. Those who die from drowning never succeed in crossing the stream; they are thrown into it, and remain there forever. Some souls come to the edge of the stream, but are prevented from passing by the snake that threatens to devour them; these are the souls of persons in a lethargy or trance. Being refused a passage, these souls return to their bodies and reanimate them. They believe that animals

have souls, and even that inorganic substances, such as kettles, etc., have in them a similar essence. In this land of souls all are treated according to their merits. Those who have been good men are free from pain; they have no duties to perform; their time is spent in dancing and singing, and they feed upon mushrooms, which are very abundant. The souls of bad men are haunted by the phantoms of the persons or things that they have injured; thus, if a man has destroyed much property, the phantoms of the wrecks of this property obstruct his passage wherever he goes; if he has been cruel to his dogs or horses they also torment him after death; the ghosts of those whom during his lifetime he wronged are there permitted to avenge their injuries. They think that when a soul has crossed the stream it can not return to its body, yet they believe in apparitions, and entertain the opinion that the spirits of the departed will frequently revisit the abodes of their friends, in order to invite them to the other world, and to forewarn them of their approaching dissolution." (Op. cit., pp. 158–159.)

It is quite evident that the widely separated members of this great tribe held different beliefs regarding the state after death, and it would also appear that such beliefs were influenced or dictated by their natural environment. Thus in the cold, bleak forests of the north, where the winters were long and severe, they looked to the south as the home of the departed, where warmth would prevail, and where the days would be passed in dancing and singing.

Some years earlier, in 1764, an English trader described the death and burial of a child near the north shore of Lake Superior while approaching Michilimackinac. The Indians were engaged in making maple sugar when—

"A little child, belonging to one of our neighbours, fell into a kettle of boiling syrup. It was instantly snatched out, but with little hope of its recovery.

"So long, however, as it lived, a continual feast was observed; and this was made to the Great Spirit and Master of Life, that he might be pleased to save and heal the child. At this feast, I was a constant guest; and often found difficulty in eating the large quantity of food, which, on such occasions as these, is put upon each man's dish. The Indians accustom themselves both to eat much, and to fast much, with facility.

"Several sacrifices were also offered; among them were dogs, killed and hung upon the tops of poles, with the addition of stroud blankets and other articles. These, also, were given to the Great Spirit, in humble hope that he would give efficacy to the medicines employed.

"The child died. To preserve the body from the wolves, it was placed upon a scaffold, where it remained till we went to the lake, on the border of which was the burial-ground of the family.

"On our arrival there, which happened in the beginning of April, I did not fail to attend the funeral. The grave was made of a large size, and the whole of the inside lined with birch-bark. On the bark was laid the body of the child, accompanied with an axe, a pair of snow-shoes, a small kettle, several pairs of common shoes, its own strings of beads, and—because it was a girl—a carrying-belt and a paddle. The kettle was filled with meat.

"All this was again covered with bark; and at about two feet nearer the surface, logs were laid across, and these again covered with bark, so that the earth might by no means fall upon the corpse.

"The last act before the burial, performed by the mother, crying over the dead body of her child, was that of taking from it a lock of hair, for a memorial. While she did this, I endeavoured to console her, by offering the usual arguments; that the child was happy in being released from the miseries of this present life, and that she should forbear to grieve, because it would be restored to her in another world, happy and everlasting. She answered, that she knew it, and that by the lock of hair she should discover her daughter; for she would take it with her. In this she alluded to the day, when some pious hand would place in her own grave, along with the carrying-belt and paddle, this little relic, hallowed by maternal tears." (Henry, (1), pp. 149–151.)

The same writer, in recording certain beliefs of the people, said (pp. 151–152):

"I have frequently inquired into the ideas and opinions of the Indians, in regard to futurity, and always found that they were somewhat different, in different individuals. Some suppose their souls to remain in this world, although invisible to human eyes; and capable, themselves, of seeing and hearing their friends, and also of assisting them, in moments of distress and danger. Others dismiss from the mortal scene the unembodied spirit, and send it to a distant world or country, in which it receives reward or punishment, according to the life which it has led in its prior state. Those who have lived virtuously are transported into a place abounding with every luxury, with deer and all other animals of the woods and water, and where the earth produces, in their greatest perfection, all its sweetest fruits. While, on the other hand, those who have violated or neglected the duties of this life, are removed to a barren soil, where they wander up and down, among rocks and morasses, and are stung by gnats, as large as pigeons."

This agrees remarkably with the later statements made by Keating, as already quoted.

The scaffold burials mentioned in the preceding quotations do not appear to have been the true form so extensively used by the tribes

farther west, especially up the valley of the Missouri. There a platform was constructed between four or more supports, some 6 or 8 feet above the ground, and on this platform the body was placed after being wrapped and bound with skins or some other covering. These were of a more temporary nature.

THE MENOMINI

The Menomini, whose home when first encountered by Europeans during the early years of the seventeenth century was west of Lake Michigan, evidently possessed many customs quite similar to those of the Ojibway. Their dead were usually deposited in excavated graves, but they also had some form of scaffold burial. (Pl. 5, *a*.)

"The Menomini formerly disposed of their dead by inclosing the bodies in long pieces of birchbark or in slats of wood, and burying them in a shallow hole. When not in the neighborhood of birch or other trees, from which broad pieces of bark could be obtained, some of the men would search for the nearest dugout, from which they would cut a piece long enough to contain the body. In some instances sections of hollow trees were used as coffins. In order to afford protection against wild beasts, there were placed over the grave three logs—two directly on the ground and the third on the others. They were prevented from rolling away by stakes driven into the earth. [Plate 5, *b*, represents the old method of protecting graves.]

"More modern customs now prevail with the greater body of the tribe, and those who have been Christianized adopt the following course: A wooden coffin is made and the body laid out in the ordinary manner. The burial takes place usually the day on which death occurs. The graves are about 4 feet deep. Over the mound is erected a small board structure resembling a house. . . . This structure measures about 5 feet in length and 3 feet high. In the front and near the top is an opening through which the relations and friends of the deceased put cakes of maple sugar, rice, and other food—the first fruits of the season. In some grave-boxes, immediately beneath the opening, there is placed a small drawer, which is used for the same purpose as the opening. Sometimes even on the grave-boxes of Christianized Indians, the totem of the clan to which the deceased belonged is drawn in color or carved from a piece of wood and securely nailed. These totemic characters are generally drawn or attached in an inverted position, which is denotive of death among the Menomini as among other tribes. Around the grave-boxes clapboard fences are usually erected to keep stray animals from coming near, and to prevent wayfarers and sacrilegious persons from desecrating the graves. An ordinary 'worm' fence is also sometimes built for the same purpose.

"Among the non-Christianized Menomini the grave covering is of a slightly different character. These grave-boxes are more like an inverted trough, as shown in plate 5, *c*, which illustrates the graves of the late chief Osh'kosh and his wife. The openings in the head end of the box are used for the introduction of ordinary food, as well as maple sugar and other tributes of the first fruits of the year, on which the shade of the departed may feast before it finally sets out for the land of the dead. Formerly, also, bodies were scaffolded, or placed in trees, according to the wish of the deceased. In some instances it was customary to dress and paint the body as during life, seat it on the ground facing the west—in the direction of the path of the dead toward the land of Naq'pote—when a log inclosure, resembling a small pen, was built around it. In this manner the

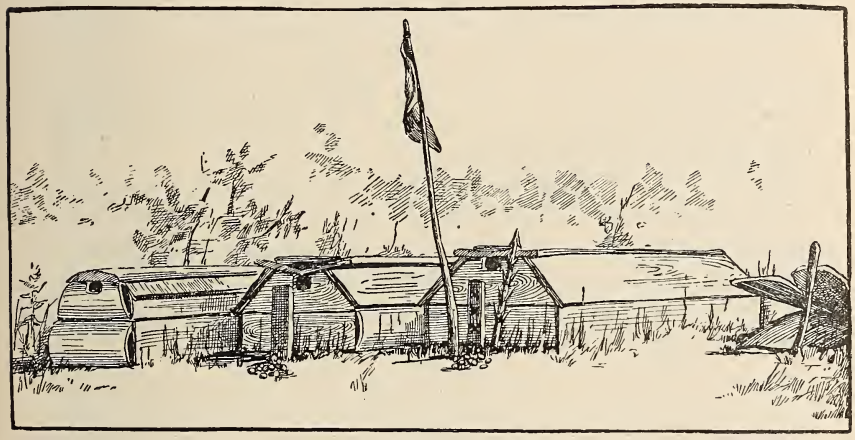

FIG. 1.—Menomini graves.

corpse was left. . . . Mourners blacken their faces with charcoal or ashes. Formerly it was sometimes customary to add pine resin to the ashes, that the materials might remain longer on the skin, and a widow was not presumed to marry again until this substance had entirely worn off. In some instances of great grief, the hair above the forehead was cropped short." (Hoffman, (1), pp. 239–241.) Typical graves are shown in figure 1.

Quite similar to the preceding were graves discovered in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien, near the banks of the Mississippi, when visited by Maj. Long's party in June, 1823. The graves resembled those of the whites, but they were "covered with boards or bark, secured to stakes driven into the ground, so as to form a sort of roof over the grave; at the head, poles were erected for the purpose of supporting flags; a few tatters of one of these still waved over the grave. An upright post was also fixed near the head, and upon this the deeds of the deceased, whether in the way of hunting

or fighting, were inscribed with red or black paint. The graves were placed upon mounds in the prairie, this situation having doubtless been selected as being the highest and least likely to be overflowed." (Keating, (1), I, pp. 244–245.)

The use of ancient mounds as places of burial by later Indians, as witnessed near Prairie du Chien, was followed extensively throughout the upper Mississippi Valley and elsewhere. In the spring of 1900 the Ojibway living on the south shore of Mille Lac, Minnesota, were utilizing the summits of ancient mounds for this purpose, and on one mound standing near the village of Sagawamick were thirteen very recent graves, covered with the box-like covers of hewn logs, on one end of which was cut or painted the totem of the deceased. Some were surrounded by stakes, designed to protect the burial. This site was once occupied by the Mdewakanton, by whom the mounds were evidently reared. Later they were driven southward by the Ojibway, and this became the principal village of the Misisagaikaniwininiwak. This will explain the origin of the many shallow burials, a foot or more below the surface, encountered in mounds east of the Mississippi.

A small sketch of several scaffolds, resembling that described by McKenney, appeared in Lahontan's narrative in 1703. This is reproduced in figure 2. This form of scaffold may have been found throughout the Algonquian country bordering Lake Superior and Lake Huron, and was probably that mentioned by Charlevoix, only a few years after Lahontan.

CREMATION

More than a century before McKenney made his tour of the Lakes and stopped at Detroit during the month of June, 1826, Charlevoix traversed much of the same on his way to the country of the Illinois, and thence down the Mississippi. At that time the Missisauga, a tribe closely related to the Chippewa, and of which they may be considered a subtribe or division, lived on the shores of Lake St. Clair and the vicinity, and here Charlevoix saw their scaffold burials. Referring to the several tribes with whom he had come in contact, he wrote: "When an Indian dies in the time of hunting, his body is exposed on a very high scaffold, where it remains till the departure of the company, who carry it with them to the village. There are some nations who have the same custom, with respect to all their dead; and I have seen it practised among the Missisaguez at the Narrows. The bodies of those who are killed in war are burnt, and the ashes carried back, in order to be deposited in the sepulchres of their ancestors. These sepulchres, among those nations who are best fixed in their settlements, are a sort of burial grounds near the village." (Charlevoix, (1), II, p. 189.) This was written in 1721.

Another reference to the burning of bodies was prepared about the same year, and proves that others besides those of persons killed in war were so consumed. "An Officer of the regular Troops has informed me also, that while he had the Command of the Garrison at *Oswego*, a Boy of one of the far Westward Nations died there; the Parents made a regular Pile of split Wood, laid the Corps upon it, and burnt it; while the Pile was burning, they stood gravely looking on, without any Lamentations, but when it was burnt down, they gather up the Bones with many Tears, put them into a Box, and carried them away with them." (Colden, (1), p. 16.)

It would be interesting to know more of the details of this native ceremony, and to know the name of the tribe to which the family

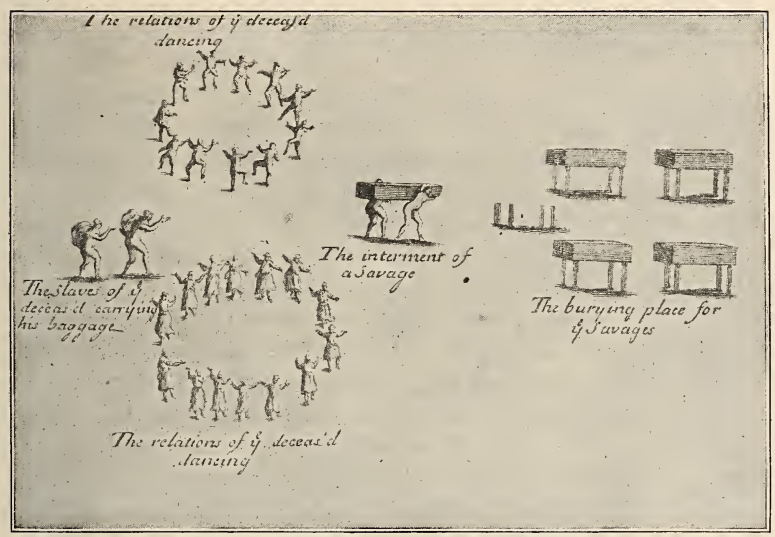
The relations of ỹ deceas'd dancing
The interment of a Savage
The slaves of ỹ deceas'd carrying his baggage
The burying place for ỹ Savages
The relations of ỹ deceas'd dancing

FIG. 2.—Scaffold burials, from Lahontan.

belonged. Oswego, near the southeastern corner of Lake Ontario, in the land of the Onondaga, was the site of an English fort erected in 1721. It soon became a gathering place for the Indians and traders coming from the west, and much of the Indian trade which had formerly been transacted by the French at Montreal was diverted to this new post. It is easy to imagine that during one of these journeys from their distant home on a western lake or river the child of an Indian family died, and his parents, desiring to bury him near their native village, burned the body, then collected the ashes and charred bones, and carried them away, as related by an English officer nearly two centuries ago.

Probably cremation was resorted to in many instances as a means of reducing the difficulty of removing the remains from the place of death to the locality where it was desired they might be deposited;

but if some statements of the early French are to be accepted, certain tribes must have attached some superstitious belief to the act of burning the bodies of their dead. A very interesting description was recorded by the Jesuit, Père Sébastien Rasles, of what he witnessed and learned of the custom among the Ottawa during his stay among that tribe in the winter of 1691–92. He told how certain divisions of the tribe burned their dead while others interred the remains. However, his account may not be true to fact, although written according to his belief. (Rasles, (1), pp. 154–159.)

Another reference to the burning of bodies is to be found in Radisson's account of his Fourth Voyage into the great northern wilderness. He and his companions left Quebec sometime in the early part of the year 1661, and were soon joined by a party of Indians who belonged to some western Algonquian tribe living in the vicinity of Lake Superior. Shortly after coming together, while passing in their canoes along a certain stream where the banks were close together, they met a number of Iroquois. In the fierce encounter which ensued Radisson's friendly Indians lost two killed and seven wounded. And alluding to the former he wrote: "We bourned our comrades, being their custome to reduce such into ashes being slained in bataill. It is an honnour to give them such a buriall." (Radisson (1), p. 183.) But unfortunately he failed to tell of the final disposition of the ashes, whether they were carried by their companions to their villages on the shores of the distant lakes, and there buried, or left in the country where they had been slain. To have been carried away to their homes would have been more consistent with the native customs, and would more readily explain the cremation of the remains, to reduce the bulk, and thereby really make it possible to transport them so great a distance under such adverse conditions.

Charlevoix spent several weeks during the summer of 1721 among the Indians just south of Lake Michigan. These were probably Miami, although he undoubtedly saw members of other tribes as well. Writing at this time, and probably having the Miami in mind, he said: "As soon as the sick person has fetched his last breath, the whole cabbin resounds with lamentations, which continue as long as the family is in a condition to furnish the expence; for open table must be kept during all that time. The carcass adorned with its finest robe, the face painted, the arms of the deceased, with every thing he possessed laid by his side, is exposed at the gate of the cabbin, in the same posture in which he is to lie in the tomb, and that is in many places, the same with that of a child in the womb. * * * It appears to me that they carry the corpse to the place of burial without any ceremony * * * but when they are once in the grave, they take care to cover them in such manner that the earth does not touch them: so that they lie as in a cell entirely cov-

ered with skins, much richer and better adorned than any of their cabbins. A post is afterwards erected, on which they fix every thing capable of expressing the esteem in which they held the deceased. * * * Fresh provisions are carried to the place every morning, and as the dogs and other beasts do not fail to take advantage of this, they would fain persuade themselves that it is the soul of the deceased, who comes to take some refreshment." (Charlevoix, (1), II, pp. 187–188.)

This may have been intended as a general statement of the customs of the tribes whom he had met during his journey, although written while among the Miami, but its greatest value is the manner in which the origin and cause of the flexed burial is explained, and this would probably apply to the eastern as well as to the western Algonquians.

"THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY"

The term Illinois Indians as used by some early writers was intended to include the various Algonquian tribes, encountered in the "Illinois country," in addition to those usually recognized as forming the Illinois confederacy. Thus, in the following quotation from Joutel will be found a reference to the *Chahouanous*—i. e., Shawnee—as being of the *Islinois*, and in the same note *Accancea* referred to the Quapaw, a Siouan tribe living on the right bank of the Mississippi, not far north of the mouth of the Arkansas. Describing the burial customs of the Illinois, as witnessed by him during the latter years of the seventeenth century, Joutel wrote: "They pay a Respect to their Dead, as appears by their special Care of burying them, and even of putting into lofty Coffins the Bodies of such as are considerable among them, as their Chiefs and others, which is also practised among the *Accancea's*, but they differ in this Particular, that the *Accancea's* weep and make their Complaints for some Days, where as the *Chahouanous* and other People of the *Islinois* Nation do just the Contrary; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in Skins, and then put them into Coffins made of the Barks of Trees, then sing and dance about them for twenty four Hours. Those Dancers take Care to tie Calabashes, or Gourds about their Bodies, with some *Indian* Wheat in them, to rattle and make a Noise, and some of them have a Drum, made of a great Earthen Pot, on which they extend a wild Goat's Skin, and beat thereon with one Stick like our Tabors. During that Rejoicing, they throw their Presents on the Coffin, as Bracelets, Pendents, or Pieces of Earthen Ware, and Strings of Beads, encouraging the Singers to perform their Duty well. If any Friend happens to come thither at that Time, he immediately throws down his Present and falls a singing and dancing like the rest. When that Ceremony is over, they bury

the Body, with part of the presents, making choice of such as may be most proper for it. They also bury with it, some Stores of *Indian* Wheat, with a Pot to boil it in, for fear the dead Person should be hungry on his long Journey; and they repeat the same Ceremony at the Year's End. A good Number of Presents still remaining, they divide them into several Lots, and play at a Game, call'd of the Stick to give them to the Winner." (Joutel, (1), pp. 174–175.)

From this very interesting account of the burial customs of the Illinois Indians it is evident they had several ways and methods of disposing of their dead. Some were placed in "lofty coffins," which undoubtedly refers to a form of tree or scaffold burial, and in this connection it is interesting to know that when settlers entered Truro township, in the present Knox County, Illinois, a few miles west of the ancient Peoria village on the Illinois River, they found tree burials of quite recent origin. Logs had been split in halves and hollowed out, and so served as coffins which rested in forks of trees some 10 to 15 feet above the ground. These remained in this position until about the year 1836, when they were removed by the settlers and buried in the earth. These must have been the "lofty coffins" of Joutel. But the bodies were not always so securely protected, and in the year 1692, within a short time of Joutel's visit, another Frenchman referred to the burial customs of the Illinois and said: "It is not their custom to bury the dead; they wrap them in skins, and hang them by the feet and head to the tops of trees." (Rasles, (1), p. 167.) And touching on the ceremonies which attended the burial, the same Father wrote: "When the Illinois are not engaged in war or hunting, their time is spent either in games, or at feasts, or in dancing. They have two kinds of dances; some are a sign of rejoicing, and to these they invite the most distinguished women and young girls; others are a token of their sadness at the death of the most important men of their Tribe. It is by these dances that they profess to honor the deceased, and to wipe away the tears of his relatives. All of them are entitled to have the death of their near relatives bewailed in this manner, provided that they make presents for this purpose. The dances last a longer or shorter time according to the price and value of the presents, which, at the end of the dance, are distributed to the dancers." (P. 167.)

And when settlers arrived near the banks of the Mackinaw, a tributary of the Illinois, near the present village of Lexington, McLean County, Illinois, in 1843, they discovered a body of an Indian wrapped in bark and suspended in a tree top. The body was taken down and buried in what is now called Indian Burial Ground, some 2½ miles southeast of Lexington.

It is interesting to be able to trace other burial places and burial customs of the western Algonquian tribes in comparatively recent

times. After the Battle of Tippecanoe, fought November 7, 1811, the Indians who fell in that memorable encounter are said to have been buried on the summit of a ridge, running north and south and bounded on the west by the Middle Fork of Vermilion River and on the east by a deep ravine, about 5½ miles west of the present Danville, Vermilion County, Illinois. This region was then occupied by roving bands of different tribes, including members of the Shawnee. In the early years of the last century, just after the settlement of the village of Gosport, Owen County, Indiana, the Shawnee chief, Big Fire, died, and his body was taken in a canoe 10 miles on the West Fork of White River, to a place where the party landed. A stretcher was there made by interlacing bark between two long poles. The body was then placed upon the stretcher and carried to the grave by four men. Arriving at the grave the body "was painted, dressed in his best blanket and beaded mocassins, and buried along with his ornaments and war weapons. The grave was three feet deep, lined with rough boards and bark. Over it was planted an oak post, five feet high, eight inches square, tapering to a point, which was painted red. The monument was often visited and long revered by the band. It has disappeared within a few years." (Collett, (1), p. 324.) Stretchers similar to the one just mentioned were undoubtedly used quite extensively by the Indians in conveying their dead or wounded comrades from place to place. One, illustrated by Schoolcraft from a painting by Eastman, is now reproduced in plate 11, *a*. "The mode of carrying the sick or wounded is in a litter on two poles lashed together, and a blanket fastened on to it." (Schoolcraft, (2), II, p. 180.) Probably barks, skins, or mats were used in earlier times, later to be followed by the blankets obtained from the traders.

The Delaware village of Greentown stood on the left bank of the Black Fork of the Mohican, in Ashland County, Ohio. The settlement was abandoned in 1812, when the families removed and erected a new village at Piqua, on the Great Miami. The site of old Greentown was soon under cultivation by the whites. The area was examined during the summer of 1876, at which time it was said "the southern portion of the site is still in woods, and the depressions that mark the graves are quite distinct. . . . In some cases the remains were inclosed in a stone cist; in others small, rounded drift bowlders were placed in order around the skeletons. The long bones were mostly well preserved. No perfect skull was obtained, nor were there any stone implements found in the graves. At the foot of one a clam shell was found. The graves are from two and one-half to three feet deep, and the remains repose horizontally." (Case, (1), p. 598.) The apparent lack of European objects asso-

ciated with these burials is quite contrary to the usual custom. Often many pieces obtained from the traders are to be found in the later Indian graves, and an interesting example was discovered at the site of a large Shawnee town which stood where Frankfort, Ross County, Ohio, was later reared. From the burial place of the ancient Indian town "numerous relics are obtained, gun barrels, copper kettles, silver crosses and brooches, and many other implements and ornaments." (Squier and Davis, (1), pp. 60–61.)

Such are the numerous small cemeteries discovered throughout the region west of the mountains. Each proves the position, at some time, of a native settlement, some of probably not more than two or three wigwams, the temporary camping place of a few families during the hunting or fishing season. Others mark the location of a more important tribal center. Long after the upper Ohio Valley was abandoned by the people who had erected the great earthworks it became the home of other tribes, or rather it became the hunting grounds of many tribes, but it was not occupied by any large native towns. Later, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Shawnees were forced northward from the valleys of Tennessee, and other Algonquian tribes began seeking new homes to the westward beyond the mountains, the upper valley of the Ohio became repeopled by a native population, and to these later settlements may be attributed the great majority of burials now encountered within the region. The towns were moved from place to place as requirements and natural causes made necessary, and with each movement a new cemetery was soon created. Such a movement of the inhabitants of a Shawnee village about the middle of the eighteenth century is graphically described in a journal of one who witnessed the catastrophe which made it necessary:

"On the Ohio, just below the mouth of Scioto, on a high bank, near forty feet, formerly stood the Shawnesse town, called the Lower Town, which was all carried away, except three of four houses, by a great flood in the Scioto. I was in the town at the time, though the banks of the Ohio were so high, the water was nine feet on the top, which obliged the whole town to take to their canoes, and move with their effects to the hills. The Shawnesse afterwards built their town on the opposite side of the river, which, during the French war, they abandoned, for fear of the Virginians, and removed to the plains on Scioto." (Croghan, (1), p. 368.)

And this was only one of many similar instances where a comparatively small number of individuals occupied during a single generation many sites and left at each site a small group of graves.

Scattered over the western country, throughout the region once frequented by the fur trader and missionary, are often to be found traces

of their early posts or settlements, and probably many burials which have erroneously been attributed to the Indians could be traced to these sources. It has already been shown that at the establishment of the American Fur Co., standing at Fond du Lac in 1826, were two small cemeteries, one for the whites and the other for the Indians. This may have been the custom at many posts, but now, were these graves examined, it would probably be quite difficult to distinguish between the two.

An ancient French cemetery evidently stood not far from the banks of the Illinois, probably within the limits of the present city of Peoria. It was mentioned just 70 years ago in a description of the valley of the Illinois, and when referring to the native occupants of the rich and fertile region:

"This little paradise was until recently possessed by the Peoria Indians, a small tribe, which has since receded; and tradition says there was once a considerable settlement of the French on the spot. I was informed there is an extensive old burial place, not of Indian origin, somewhere on or near the terrace, and noticed that not a few of the names and physiognomies in this quarter were evidently French." (Paulding, (1), p. 17.)

If discovered at the present time these remains would be in a condition which would make it difficult to distinguish them from those of Indians, unless associated objects of European origin would serve to identify them. And down the valley of the Illinois has been discovered a native Indian cemetery dating from about the same period as the old French cemetery at Peoria. It was evidently one of much interest. "Upon the banks of the river at Naples are the burying-grounds of the modern Indian, in which have been found many stone implements intermingled with civilized manufactures, such as beads, knives, crosses of silver, and other articles indicating traffic with the French during, probably, the latter part of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries. . . . The pottery exhumed from this ancient cemetery shows that it was the common burial-place of the race that built at least a part of the mounds." (Henderson, (1), p. 719.)

However, Indians were sometimes buried in the small French Catholic cemeteries, and it may be recalled that when Pontiac was murdered, in the year 1769, near the village of the Cahokia, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, his body was claimed by the French, carried across the river in a canoe, and placed in the cemetery belonging to the church. This stood on the summit of the ridge, then probably surrounded by the virgin forest; now the site is covered by buildings, on the southeast corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, in the city of St. Louis. But all traces of this ancient burying ground have long since disappeared.

STONE-LINED GRAVES

Stone graves—that is, small excavations which were lined or partly lined with natural slabs of stone—have been encountered in great numbers in various parts of the Mississippi Valley. They are discovered scattered and separate; in other instances vast numbers are grouped together, thus forming extensive cemeteries. While the great majority were formed by lining properly prepared excavations, others were created by erecting one upon another, forming several tiers, and covering all with earth, so forming a mound. In and about the city of Nashville, on the banks of the Cumberland, in Davidson County, Tennessee, such burials have been revealed in such great numbers that it is within reason to suppose the region was once occupied by a sedentary people who remained for several generations, and must have had an extensive village near by. It will be recalled that the Shawnee occupied the valley in the early years of the eighteenth century, and that a French trader was there in 1714. A mound standing near Nashville was examined in the summer of 1821, and writing of it Haywood said: "This is the mound upon which Monsieur Charleville, a French trader, had his store in the year 1714, when the Shawanese were driven from the Cumberland by the Cherokees and Chickasaws. It stands on the west side of the river, and on the north side of French lick creek, and about 70 yards from each. It is round at the base. About 30 yards in diameter, and about 10 feet in height, at this time." The mound was examined and much charcoal, traces of fire beds, a few objects of stone, and bits of pottery were found. And telling of the later history of the mound the writer continued: "The mound also had been stockaded by the Cherokees between the years 1758 and 1769. . . . Very large burying grounds once lay between the mounds and the river, thence westwardly, thence to the creek." (Haywood, (1), pp. 136–138.)

Although from this statement it would appear that many graves had already been destroyed before the close of the first quarter of the last century, nevertheless vast numbers remained to be examined at a later day. About 20 years after Haywood wrote, another account of the cemeteries in the vicinity of Nashville was prepared, at which time it was told that "We have one near the suburbs of our town, which extends from near the Cumberland river almost to Mr. Macgavoc's; it is about one mile in length, how much in breadth I cannot say, the road and houses cover one side, and a cultivated field the other; in this field is a tumulus which is now worn down. From the part that I have examined of this grave-yard, I found that the stone coffins were close to one another, situated in such a manner that each corpse was separated only by a single stone from the other; about one and one-half or two miles from this, on the other side of the

Cumberland river, is another burying ground, where the graves are equally numerous. At Cockerel's Spring, two or two and one-half miles from the first mentioned, is another; and about six miles from Nashville, on the Charlotte road, we have another; at Hayesborough, another; so that in a circle of about ten miles diameter, we have six extensive burying grounds. . . . As to the form of the graves, they are rude fabrics, composed of rough flat stones (mostly a kind of slaty limestone or slaty sandstone, both abundant in our State). Such flat stone was laid on the ground in an excavation made for the purpose; upon it were put (edgewise) two similar stones of about the same length as the former, and two small ones were put at both extremities, so as to form an oblong cavity lined with stones, of the size of a man; the place for the head and feet had the same dimensions. When a coffin was to be constructed next to it, one of the side stones serves for both, and consequently they lay in straight rows, in one layer only, I never found one above the other." (Troost, (1), pp. 358–359.)

This very graphic description of a stone grave would apply equally well to those discovered in widely separated parts of the country. But it was not always possible to secure pieces of stone of sufficient size to allow a single one to serve as the side of a grave, in which event it was necessary to place several on each side. Again, the graves were made of a size to correspond with that of the body which was to be placed within it, and therefore they varied in length and breadth. Others which were prepared to hold a bundle of bones after the flesh had been removed, or had disappeared, were quite short—the latter were the "pygmy graves" of the early writers.

About 9 miles from Nashville is a hill "on which the residence of Colonel Overton stands . . . was in former times occupied by an aboriginal settlement. The circular depressions of the wigwams are still visible." (Jones, Joseph, (1), p. 39.) Many stone graves were discovered here, "the earth having been excavated to the depth of about eighteen inches, and the dimensions of the excavation corresponding to the size of the skeleton. The sides of each were lined with carefully selected stones, forming a perfect parallelogram, with a single stone for the head and foot. The skeleton or body of the dead person was then deposited at full length. In the square short grave the skull was placed in the centre and surrounded by the long bones." Jones made another very interesting observation and discovered that "some of the small graves contained nothing more than bones of small animals and birds. The animals appeared to be a species of dog, also rabbits, raccoons, and opossums. The bones of birds appeared to belong to the wild turkey, eagle, owl, hawk, and wild duck. Occasionally bones of these animals and birds were

found in the large graves along with the bones of human adults." (Op. cit., pp. 7–9.)

It may be difficult to determine the explanation of this strange custom, but similar discoveries have been made elsewhere in the southern country. Westward, across the Mississippi in Crittenden and Mississippi Counties, Arkansas, Moore encountered bones of birds in graves associated with human remains. Bones identified belonged to the swan, goose, and turkey. And, as will be shown later, the Creeks within historic times buried various animals with or near the dead, and this may have been the survival of a more ancient custom.

In addition to the extensive cemeteries, similar graves were arranged above the original surface and a mass of earth reared over them. A most interesting example of such a mound was described by Jones. It stood on the bank of a small stream about 10 miles from Nashville, and measures some 55 feet in diameter and 12 feet in height, and "contained perhaps one hundred skeletons, the stone graves, especially towards the center of the mound, were placed one upon the other, forming in the highest part of the mound three or four ranges. The oldest and lowest graves were of the small square variety, whilst those near or upon the summit, were of the natural length and width of the skeletons within. In this mound as in other burial places, in the small square stone graves, the bones were frequently found broken, and whilst some graves contained only a portion of an entire skeleton others contained fragments of two or more skeletons mingled together. The small mound now under consideration, which was one of the most perfect in its construction, and the lids of the upper graves so arranged as to form an even, round, shelving rock surface, was situated upon the western slope of a beautiful hill, covered with the magnificent growth of the native forest. The remains of an old Indian fortification were still evident, surrounding an extensive encampment, and several other mounds. The graves of the mausoleum which chiefly engaged my attention were of all sizes, arranged in various directions, with no special reference to the points of the compass. In a large and carefully constructed stone tomb, the lid of which was formed of a flat rock over seven feet in length and three feet in width, I exhumed the bones of what was supposed to be an ancient Indian chief, who had passed his hundred summers. The skeleton was about seven feet in length and the huge jaw had lost every vestige of a tooth, the alveolar processes being entirely absorbed. From another sarcophagus near the base of the mound, were exhumed the bones of an Indian of gigantic stature and powerful frame, who died apparently in middle life." (Jones, Joseph, (2).)

Another mound of equal interest, although of a somewhat different interior arrangement, was described by the same writer in the same manuscript volume. This stood on the eastern bank of the Cumberland, opposite Nashville, and just across from the mouth of Lick Branch. It was about 100 feet in diameter and 10 feet in height, and near by was a larger mound. "In the centre of the mound, about three feet from its surface, I encountered a large sacrificial vase, or altar, forty-three inches in diameter, composed of a mixture of clay and river shells. The rim of the vase was three inches in height. The entire vessel had been moulded in a large wicker basket formed of split canes and the leaves of the cane, the impressions of which were plainly visible upon the outer surface." Within this were the antlers and jaw bone of a deer, and a layer of ashes about 1 inch in depth which seemed to have been derived from burning animal matter. "Stone sarcophagi were ranged round the central altar, with the heads of the dead to the centre, and the feet to the circumference, resembling the radii of a circle. The inner circle of graves was constructed with great care, and all the Indians buried around the altar were ornamented with beads of various kinds, some of which had been cut out of bone, and others again were composed of entire sea-shells, punctured so as to admit of the passage of the thread upon which they were strung. . . . A circle of graves extended around the inner circle which we have described as radiating from the altar. The stone coffins of the outer circle lay at right angles to the inner circle, and rested, as it were, at the feet of the more highly honored and favored dead. In the outer graves no ornaments were found, only a few small arrowheads, and fragments of shells and pots." Objects of shell, and an effigy vase, copper pendants, etc., were associated with the burials in the inner circle of graves. Two skeletons were discovered on the southern slope of the mound, but their graves had not been lined with stones. Near one, supposed to have been the remains of a woman, was a beautiful vessel "composed of a mixture of light yellow clay and shells . . . and was painted with regular black figures." Beneath the skull of the second burial, probably that of a man, "lay a splendid stone hatchet, with the entire handle, and ring at the end of the handle, cut out of a compact green chloritic primitive mineral." (Op. cit.)

Graves in the vicinity of Nashville, as well as elsewhere, were in some instances lined with fragments of large earthenware vessels, similar to the one discovered in the mound just described. These were the great "salt pans," or evaporating dishes, which may have been used for various purposes, but primarily for the evaporation of water from the salines. In referring to pieces of these large cloth-marked vessels found on different sites near Nashville, it was

said "The graves are frequently lined and covered with them, instead of slabs of stone." (Thruston, (1), p. 159.) And again (p. 29): "Many of the graves in the vicinity of Nashville are lined with large, thick fragments of broken pottery, as neatly joined together as if molded for the purpose." The fragments were merely employed as a substitute for the thin slabs of stone, and therefore eliminated the labor of obtaining the latter. The use of similar fragments for a like purpose, in cemeteries farther north, will be mentioned on a subsequent page.

Stone-lined graves have been discovered in many widely separated places, both north and south of the Ohio, but in no other locality were they so numerous as in the vicinity of Nashville, Tennessee, and seldom were they found so carefully constructed as there. But the variations in form and size may be attributed rather to the material available for their lining than to the difference in the skill of the native by whom they were made. To illustrate the variations and the manner in which the graves differed, it will be necessary to refer briefly to several scattered groups.

During his explorations along the valley of the Tennessee Moore examined mounds on Swallow Bluff Island, Decatur County, one of which was some 18 feet in height with a diameter of about 130 feet. This was considered a domiciliary mound, and around the margin of the summit plateau were discovered numerous stone-lined graves, but none was found in the central part of the top. An example of these burials is illustrated in plate 6, *a*, showing the grave after the removal of the cover stones, revealing the partly flexed skeleton; *b*, the same grave before the removal of the cover, but after the excavation of the superimposed and surrounding mass of earth. In describing this burial Moore wrote: "Burial No. 12, a few inches from the surface, was a fine example of the stone box-grave, the sides and ends upright, the covering slabs resting squarely on them. This grave, oblong, 3 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 5 inches, had the sides and ends of single slabs, except at one point where there were two slabs. Surrounding the grave small gaps had been filled with slabs of inconsiderable size; other unimportant spaces had been left uncovered. The top was composed of three large slabs forming a single layer, the one at the lower end of the grave, however, having another slab upon it, forming a double layer at this place. The inside measurements of this grave were 3 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 8 inches. Its depth was 1 foot 1 inch." (Moore, (4), pp. 213–214.)

It is extremely doubtful if the builders of the mound were responsible for the stone graves. The latter were probably of a much more recent date, and should therefore be regarded as intrusive

burials. Continuing up the Tennessee, making many interesting discoveries on the way, the party reached Henry Island, near Guntersville, Marshall County, Alabama. At the head of the island were several mounds, one of which had been worn down to a height of about 1 foot. Much of the work had evidently been destroyed, but in the remaining portion were several graves, one of which, a stone-lined grave, was of much interest. It is shown in plate 7 before and after the removal of the top stones. It had an extreme outside length of 6 feet 8 inches and a width of 3 feet. Inside it measured 5 feet 10 inches in length, 2 feet 2 inches in width, and 1 foot 7 inches in depth. "This grave, of the regular stone-box variety, was made of limestone slabs carefully arranged, the slabs having been set a number of inches into the ground below the base of the grave, which was neatly floored with slabs in contact, the small spaces between the larger ones having been filled with fragments of a suitable size. A large single slab was upright at the head, which was directed SE.; another, at the feet." (Moore, (4), pp. 286–289.)

This grave contained an extended skeleton, determined to have been that of an adult male.

Similar graves were discovered as far up the river as James County, Tennessee, a short distance beyond Chattanooga.

A mound in which were many intrusive stone graves, and therefore resembling the one examined on Swallow Bluff Island, stood on a high hill about 2 miles from Franklin, Williamson County, Tennessee. It was about 20 feet in height and 400 feet in circumference. The mound was examined and "about four feet from the top, we came to a layer of graves extending across the entire mound. The graves were constructed in the same manner as those found in the cemeteries . . . that is, of two wide parallel slabs, about two and one-half feet long for sides, and with the bottom, head, and foot stones of the same material, making when put together, a box or sarcophagus. Each of these coffins had bones in it, some of women and children together, and others of men." (Clark, (1), pp. 269–276.)

Two classes of mounds containing stone-lined graves have now been described. The first had been made up of several tiers of such graves, reared one upon another, and the whole covered with a mass of earth; the second class included mounds in which such graves had later been prepared—intrusive burials in ancient mounds. Another class, though far less numerous than either of the others, each contained a single large grave. A most interesting example of this type was discovered and described by Moore. It stood on a high ridge, overlooking the valley of Green River, in Butler County, Kentucky.

Here were four mounds within a short distance of one another; each had contained a single large grave, all of which had, unfortunately, been previously excavated. One mound, which measured 21 feet in diameter, contained a grave which measured inside 7 feet 10 inches in length and 3 feet 5 inches in width, "built of slabs and masses of sandstone and of limestone, the masses in nearly every case showing flat surfaces which had been utilized in the construction of the grave, giving it interiorly a comparatively regular surface." The large block on the left had been displaced by the roots of the tree. This large grave "had been regularly built up from the yellow, undisturbed clay which served as a foundation, of slabs and blocks laid on their sides as in the case of walls, to a height of 2 feet 3 inches." Many large slabs which lay scattered about were supposed to have served as the cover of the grave. A few fragments of human bones were found within the inclosure. (Moore, (5), pp. 485–487.) This most interesting burial place is shown in plate 8, *b*. And how numerous the smaller graves were in the adjacent country may be learned from these references: In Warren County, "on the north bank of the river, near Bowling-Green, are a great many ancient graves, some of them with a row of stones set on edge around them. These graves, with a large mound on which large trees are growing, are included within the remains of an old fort built of earth. Some ancient relics were found here in 1838." (Collins, (1), p. 542.) And of the adjoining county of Barren, when referring to a mound on Big Barren River, 12 miles from Glasgow, in which stone graves were found, he said: "In the neighborhood, for half a mile or more, are found many of these graves" (p. 176). Again, when writing of discoveries made in Bourbon County, many miles northeast of the preceding, he told that "on all of the principal water courses in the county, Indian graves are to be found, sometimes single, but most frequently several grouped together. Single graves are usually indicated by broad flat stones, set in the ground edgewise around the skeleton; but where a number have been deposited together, rude stone walls were erected around them, and these having fallen inwards, the rocks retain a vertical position, sometimes resembling a rought pavement" (p. 194).

The latter must have resembled the burials encountered along the summits of the bluffs overlooking the Ohio, in Campbell County, Kentucky, and elsewhere.

Although stone-lined graves are so numerous in the valleys south of the Ohio, and may be regarded the most characteristic form of burial practiced in that region, nevertheless many other types of graves are to be encountered. During the past few centuries the country in question was undoubtedly occupied, and possibly reoccupied, by various tribes belonging to different stocks and possessing unlike

manners and customs in disposing of their dead. And here, as elsewhere east of the Mississippi, are found proofs of such tribal movements. Nor should all burials of a single type be attributed to one tribe or group of tribes, although there was undoubtedly a strong tendency to follow a traditional custom, and it is equally true that no one tribe practiced a single form of burial to the exclusion of all others. In addition to the forms of burial already described, others are found in the valleys of the streams flowing into the Ohio from the south, and of the cemeteries thus far discovered one of the most interesting, and one of unusual form, was encountered near the right bank of Green River, in Ohio County, Kentucky. Here an area of more than an acre had become somewhat more elevated than the surrounding surface as the result of long-continued occupancy, the accumulation of camp refuse, and natural causes. The site was partially examined and 298 burials were revealed. These included both adults and children. "The graves at this place were in the main roughly circular or elliptical. Their size, as a rule, was somewhat limited, there being usually but little space in them beyond that needed to accommodate the skeletons which, as a rule, were closely flexed, purposely, no doubt, for economy of space. In depth the burials ranged between one foot and eight feet five inches, many of them ending in the yellow sand (some being 2 feet, 3 feet, or exceptionally nearly 4 feet in it) on which rested the made-ground composing the Knoll." (Moore, (5), pp. 444–480.)

The photograph of one burial, designated as No. 132 in the account, is shown in plate 8, *a*. The body had been closely folded and placed in a circular grave pit having a diameter of about 20 inches. This will suggest similar burials, some in Ohio, others as far east as the upper James River Valley, in Virginia. And decidedly different from any of the preceding was a great communal, or tribal, burial mound which stood on the lowlands of Buffalo Creek, near the Ohio, in Union County, Kentucky. The mound was partially examined and "on the west side bodies were found covered with six feet of earth, forming there about five separate layers. The bones of the lowest layer were so tender that they could not be removed. . . . It would appear that the general plan of burial was to scrape the surface free from all vegetable matter, and deposit the body on its back, with the head turned to the left side. The bodies at the bottom of the heap, so far as could be ascertained by the examination, were buried without weapons, tools, or burial urns. . . . To the depth of three feet from the surface, some of the bodies had with them burial urns. . . . Three or four tiers of skeletons, of later burials, were covered with clay. It is probable that as many as three hundred bodies, infant and adult, were buried in this mound. . . . Adults and children were buried together." (Lyon, (1), pp. 392–405.)

This represented a type of burial mound encountered farther up the valley of the Ohio, a good example of which formerly stood within the city of Cincinnati. It was "in the center of the upper and lower town, on the edge of the upper bank. The principal street leading from the water is cut through the barrow, and exposes its strata and remains. . . . The dead repose in double horizontal tiers; between each tier are regular layers of sand, flat surface stones, gravel and earth. I counted seven tiers, and might have discovered more. . . . With the dead were buried their ornaments, arms and utensils." (Ashe, (1), pp. 185–190.)

In the extreme northeastern corner of Indiana, almost due north of the preceding, was another mound of this type. In the southwest corner of Steuben County, on the north shore of Little Turkey Lake, stood a group of 10 small mounds. One of the group was examined and six strata of human remains were revealed, "distinctly separated by thin strata of earth; the skeletons lay on their backs, extended full length." Neither pottery nor implements occurred with the remains. (Levette, (1), p. 443.)

Many groups of stone-lined graves have been discovered north of the Ohio. The majority of the groups are quite small and usually occupy a prominent point near a watercourse.

It is a well-established fact that the Kaskaskia, and undoubtedly members of the other allied Illinois tribes, constructed stone-lined graves on the bluffs near the Mississippi, not far from the mouth of the Kaskaskia River, in Randolph County, Illinois, long after the removal of the Kaskaskia from their ancient village on the upper Illinois, very early in the eighteenth century. Some graves near the old French village of Prairie du Rocher, a short distance above the mouth of the Kaskaskia, were evidently made within a century, as "Mrs. Morude, an old Belgian lady who lives here, informed Mr. Middleton that when they were grading for the foundation of their house she saw skulls with the hair still hanging to them taken from these graves. It is therefore more than probable, and, in fact, is generally understood by the old settlers of this section, who derived the information from their parents, that these are the graves of the Kaskaskia and other Indians who resided here when this part of Illinois began to be settled by the whites." (Thomas, (1), p. 136.)

The graves found here were of the usual forms, some containing skeletons extended at full length, others holding various bones which had been thus deposited after the removal of all flesh. With some were small earthenware vessels, but little else was associated with the fast crumbling remains.

As the Algonquian tribes are known to have occupied both banks of the Mississippi along this part of its course it is reasonable to attribute the similar graves encountered on the right bank of the

stream to the Illinois, who undoubtedly crossed back and forth as wants and desires made necessary. Across from Kaskaskia, a few miles northward, was the Saline River, a small stream along which were many salt springs, and these served to attract both Indians and French, who, by evaporating the brackish waters, secured a supply of salt. An extensive camp site stood near the mouth of the Saline, and stone-lined graves covered the summits of the surrounding hills. Four graves were encountered on the highest point just south of the site and proved of more than ordinary interest. None of the small group contained an extended burial, but in one which measured 5 feet in length and 18 inches in width were seven skulls and a large quantity of separated bones, all in a greatly decomposed condition. Another of the graves presented several very interesting and unusual features. "The pieces of limestone used in forming the walls and bottom were rather smaller than were often employed. The extreme length was just 6 feet, and the width at the widest point 15 inches. This was divided into two compartments, the larger being 4 feet 6 inches in length. In this were the bones of a single skeleton, disarticulated before burial. Near the skull lay a small earthen vessel (Cat. No. 278697, U.S.N.M.), which was saved. The smaller compartment was occupied solely by a skull, facing upward, and resting upon the stone which formed the bottom of the grave. It was quite evident that both sections were constructed at the same time, as stones on the bottom extended on both sides of the partition, and likewise the stone on the north wall. Another curious feature of this grave was the converging of the north and south walls to complete the inclosure

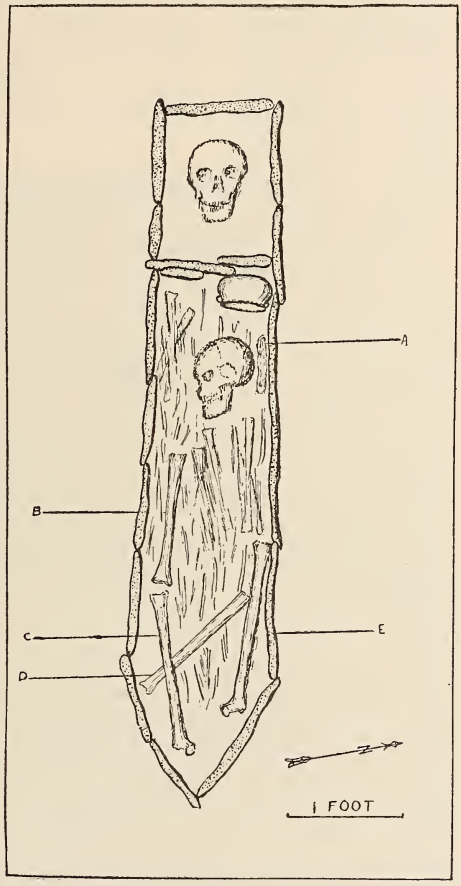

FIG. 3.—Stone-lined grave, Ste. Genevieve, Mo.

at the eastern end." (Bushnell, (2), p. 653.) The grave is shown in figure 3.

It was not possible to determine the extent of the ancient cemetery of which these four graves formed a part, but originally it may have been quite large. From the high point occupied by this group of burials it was possible to obtain a wide view of the valley across the old bed of the Mississippi to the bluffs beyond the Kaskaskia, and to see the site of the Kaskaskia town, created soon after the tribe had left their older village on the banks of the Illinois. It is a region possessing much nat-

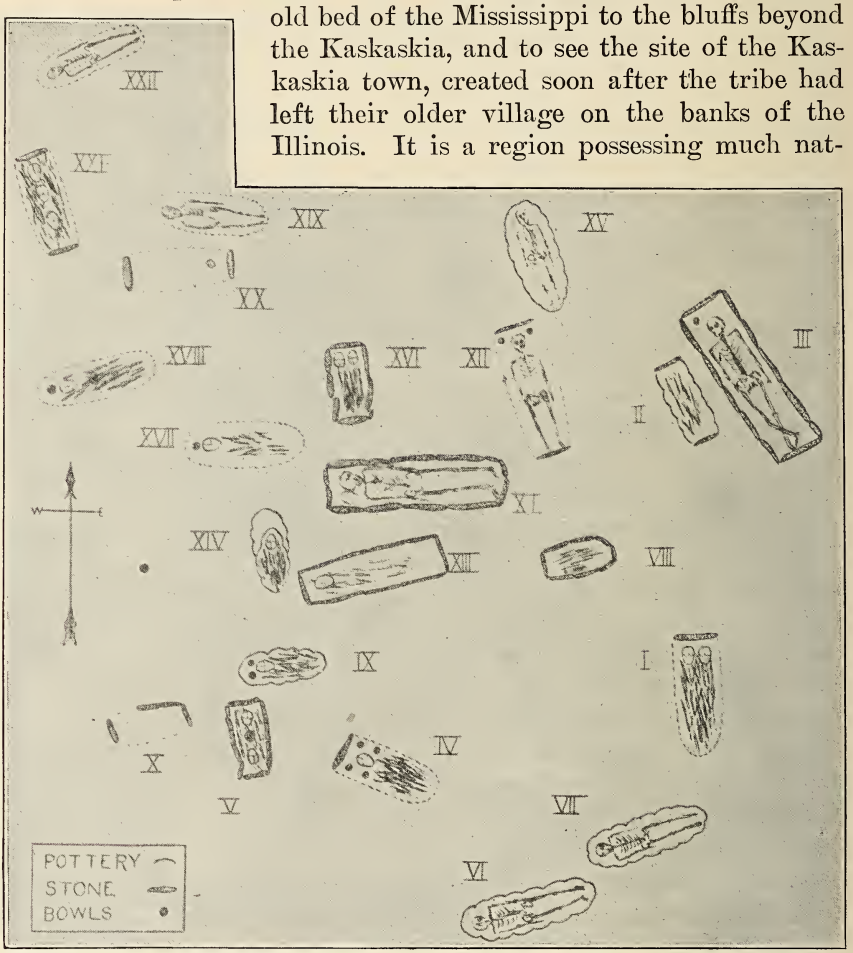

FIG. 4.—Small cemetery, Jefferson County, Missouri.

ural beauty, ideally suited to a large native population, such as it undoubtedly sustained during the days before the coming of the French.

Many similar groups of graves are scattered along the bluffs bordering the Mississippi and are less numerous inland. The salt springs of Jefferson County, Missouri, a little more than halfway between the mouth of the Saline on the south and the Missouri on the north,

served to attract the Indians, as did the springs near the former stream, already mentioned. About a mile inland from the small village of Kimmswick, up the valley of Rock Creek, were discovered several small cemeteries in the vicinity of springs. One occupied a small level area just above the principal spring, and when examined proved of the greatest interest. A plan of this curious group is given in figure 4, and as it included many uncommon features it may be of interest to describe the burials in detail. Pottery on the sides and bottoms of the graves refers to the use of fragments of large earthenware vessels in the place of stones.

I. Stone at head, pottery bottom. Contained two skulls and many bones. Length 4 feet 2 inches.

II. Stones at ends, pottery sides and bottom. Traces of bones. Length 3 feet, width 1 foot, depth 11 inches.

III. Stone sides and ends, pottery bottom. Extended skeleton. Length 6 feet 4 inches, width 1 foot 6 inches.

IV. Stone at head, also large stone covering skull. Bones bunched.

V. Stone sides and ends, two layers of pottery on bottom. Two skulls rested upon many bones. Earthenware dish between the skulls.

VI. Pottery sides, ends, and bottom. Traces of extended skeleton. Length 4 feet 6 inches.

VII. Similar to preceding.

VIII. Stone sides, ends, and bottom. Contained four radii and four ulnæ, no other bones. Also eight bone implements and a perforated disk of wood, discolored by, and showing traces of, a thin sheet of copper. Length 2 feet 6 inches, width 11 inches, depth about 1 foot.

IX. Pottery sides, bottom, and ends, with one stone covering the entire grave. One skull and many bones. Length about 3 feet.

X. End stones and two on north side remain, others fallen away.

XI. Stone sides and ends. Contained two skeletons, one above the other, separated by a layer of slabs of limestone extending from the shoulders to the feet. Length 6 feet 3 inches, width 1 foot 9 inches, depth 1 foot 8 inches.

XII. Stone ends, pottery bottom. Traces of small skeleton extended. Length about 5 feet.

XIII. Stone sides and ends. Traces of bones. Length about 5 feet.

XIV. Pottery sides, ends, and bottom. Was reduced in size. One skull rested on mass of bones.

XV. Pottery sides and ends. Small skeleton extended. Length 4 feet.

XVI. Stone sides and ends. Two skulls and scattered bones. Length 2 feet 5 inches, width 1 foot 4 inches.

XVII. Pottery top and bottom. Traces of bones. Length about 4 feet.

XVIII. Similar to preceding.

XIX. Pottery bottom. Traces of small skeleton extended. Length about 4 feet.

XX. Stone ends, pottery bottom. No traces of bones. Contained a large piece of galena. Length 3 feet 10 inches.

XXI. Stone ends, pottery bottom. Three skulls rested upon many bones. Length 3 feet 4 inches.

XXII. Pottery bottom. Traces of small skeleton extended.

Thus it will be seen how great a variety of burials may be found in a single small cemetery. The bodies, when placed in the graves, were probably wrapped in mats or skins, which have long since disappeared, and in some instances bark may have served as a partial lining for the graves. This may explain the peculiar arrangement of XVII, XVIII, XIX, and others. The use of fragmentary pottery will recall the similar use of pieces of large vessels by the people who constructed the cemeteries in the vicinity of Nashville. The heads of all the bodies deposited in the graves just described were placed between N. 5° W. and S. 80° W. (magnetic). (Bushnell, (3), pt. II.)

About 4 miles northwest of the preceding site, on the right bank of the Meramec, some 3 miles above its junction with the Mississippi, were many other graves, some of which were examined. Two of this group are shown in plate 9, *a* being that of a small child, with the bottom formed by a single stone; *b* that of an adult female. Large cemeteries are to be found on the Missouri shore north of the Missouri River, and it is interesting to know that intrusive stone graves were discovered near the summit of the "Big Mound" in St. Louis when it was removed in 1869.

Now, as to the age of the stone-lined graves. From the account of the old inhabitants in the vicinity of Prairie du Rocher it is quite evident that many in that locality were constructed by members of the Illinois tribes after the middle of the eighteenth century, although it is remarkable that objects of European origin are seldom, if ever, met with in burials along the banks of the Mississippi. Nevertheless such objects have been discovered in similar graves to the eastward. A large cemetery has been described in the northwestern part of Sullivan County, Indiana, near the left bank of the Wabash. It is said to cover a space 150 feet in width by 650 feet in length. The graves were lined with pieces of sandstone, and when first seen the stones extended above the surface. The bottom of the burials averaged about 2 feet below the surface, and in some graves as many as five skeletons have been revealed. In some of these stone-lined graves

gun barrels, iron knives, and other articles of European origin have been discovered, consequently they may not be older than those justly attributed to the Kaskaskia and their neighbors.

One other cemetery may be mentioned to show the wide distribution of this form of burial, although in the manner of covering the graves the makers differed somewhat from the usual method. The cemetery in question was in the southeastern part of Geauga County, in the far northeast corner of Ohio. Here "the graves were mostly constructed of flat stones, placed on edge at the sides and ends. They were paved and covered with the same flagging stones. . . . Over

FIG. 5.—Small mortuary bowl.

these were piled loose stones. The location is a side hill, with a descent to the east. In one place the graves extended several rods up the hill in a line in such a manner that the foot of one grave made the head of the next and were all covered by a continuous pile of loose stone. This burial place has been almost entirely despoiled." (Luther, (1), p. 593.)

No other form of burial is more widely dispersed in eastern United States than that just described, and stone-lined graves have been encountered up the valley of the Ohio into Pennsylvania, western Maryland, and Virginia, and farther south they have been traced

along the Tennessee from its mouth to the mountains, and a few scattered examples have been discovered in northern Georgia. Naturally the kind of stone with which they were lined differed in widely separated localities, but graves so formed appear to have been constructed wherever suitable material was available, irrespective of the tribe who may have claimed or occupied the region.

An interesting fact was revealed as a result of the exploration of the small groups of graves on the right bank of the Missssippi, already mentioned. In one of the four graves discovered on the ridge just below the mouth of the Saline were two small bowls, each about 4 inches in diameter and somewhat less in depth. They were made of clay without the admixture of crushed shell or sand. Both were very thin and fragile and would have been of no practical use to the living, and differed materially from all vessels apparently made for actual use in the wigwam. Many similar pieces, of the same size and material, were recovered from the graves farther north near Kimmswick, and the near-by burial places. The discovery of so many such bowls associated with burials leads to the belief that they were made solely for use in connection with burial ceremonies, and the finding of these small mortuary vessels in different localities proved the connection of the people by whom the sites were occupied. The bowl found in Grave III is shown in figure 5.

INCLOSURES IN MOUNDS

No attempt will be made at the present time to refer in detail to the many forms and variations of burials discovered in mounds north of the Ohio. Many reveal the bodies in an extended position, others in different degrees of folding, and in numerous instances the remains had been cremated and only the ashes placed in the tombs. In some mounds, evidently in some way associated with the human remains, are quantities of scattered animal bones often intermingled with wood ashes and charcoal, suggesting a feast or sacrifice at the time of burial of the dead. Again, many small masses of ashes discovered in mounds containing other forms of burials may be the cremated remains of some who had died away from their home village, and whose bodies had been burned by their companions, the ashes gathered up, and so carried to their homes. This, as told elsewhere in this sketch, was a recognized custom of the tribes of this region. But among the innumerable burials thus revealed are several distinct types, and the most interesting, excepting only the great structures encountered in southern Ohio, are the works in which the human remains had first been inclosed, or surrounded by walls of stones or logs, and in some instances of both stones and logs.

The vaults so made were often covered and floored with sheets of bark, logs, stones, or a combination of the different materials. In some the logs were placed upright, in others horizontally, but these details in construction may have been from individual tastes of the makers rather than proving any tribal custom. One of the most remarkable of these structures, one among the first of the ancient works to attract the attention of early travelers and to be described by them, is the high, conical mound near the left bank of the Ohio, in Marshall County, West Virginia, usually known as the Grave Creek Mound. And to quote from a work of 70 years ago, "The Grave creek mound, although it has often been described, deserves, from its size and singularity of construction, more than a passing notice. It is situated on the plain, at the junction of Grave creek and the Ohio river, twelve miles below Wheeling. * * * It is one of the largest in the Ohio valley; measuring about seventy feet

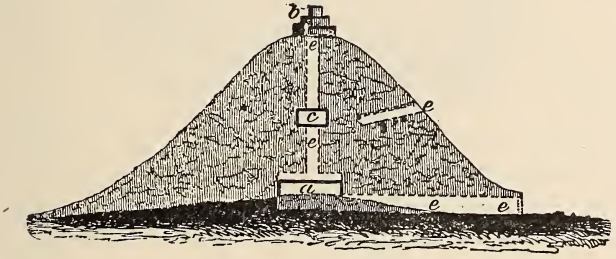

FIG. 6.—Grave Creek Mound.

in height, by one thousand in circumference at the base. It was excavated by the proprietor in 1838. He sank a shaft from the apex of the mound to the base [fig. 6, *a*, *b*,] intersecting it at that point by a horizontal drift [*a*, *e*, *e*,]. It was found to contain two sepulchral chambers, one at the base [*a*], and another thirty feet above [*c*]. These chambers had been constructed of logs, and covered with stones, which had sunk under the superincumbent mass as the wood decayed, giving the summit of the mound a flat or rather dish-shaped form. The lower chamber contained two human skeletons (one of which was thought to be that of a female); the upper chamber contained but one skeleton in an advanced stage of decay. With these were found between three and four thousand shell beads, a number of ornaments of mica, several bracelets of copper, and various articles carved in stone. After the excavation of the mound, a light three-story wooden structure was erected upon its summit." (Squier and Davis, (1), pp. 168–169.) A view of the mound, figure 56 in the work quoted, is reproduced in plate 15.

A mound of rather unusual form, covering a log inclosure, stood in Hocking County, Ohio. A plan of this work is produced in figure 7.

It must have been the tomb of an important person, the burial place of some great man, highly esteemed by his companions. The mound is, as shown in the plan, surrounded by a ditch and embankment. "The mound, which covers the entire area, save a narrow strip here and there, is 115 feet long and 96 feet wide at base, with

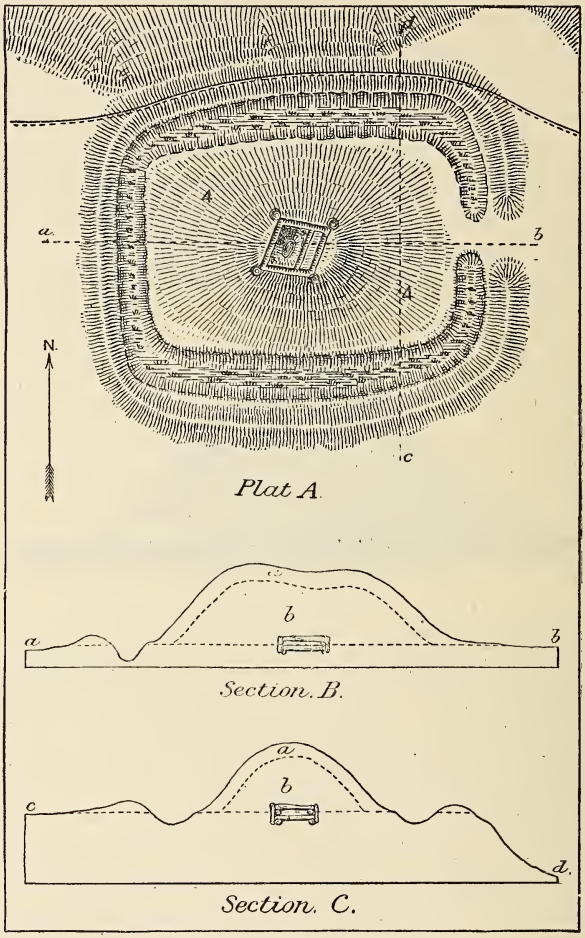

FIG. 7.—Inclosure in mound, Hocking County, Ohio.

a height of 23 feet. . . . The surrounding wall and ditch are interrupted only by the gateway at the east, which is about 30 feet wide. The ditch is 3 feet deep and varies in width from 20 to 23 feet. The wall averages 20 feet in breadth and is from 1 foot to 3 feet high." The upper 5 feet of the mound was of yellow clay, the balance of the work being formed of dark surface soil. "At the base, 30 feet from the south margin, was a bed of burnt clay, on which were coals and ashes. In the center, also at the base, were the re-

mains of a square wooden vault. The logs of which it was built were completely decayed, but the molds and impressions were still very distinct, so that they could be easily traced. This was about 10 feet square, and the logs were of considerable size, most of them nearly or quite a foot in diameter. At each corner had been placed a stout upright post, and the bottom, judging by the slight remains found there, had been wholly or partially covered with poles. . . . Near the center was the extended skeleton of an adult, head south, with which were enough shell beads to make a string 9 yards in length." (Thomas, (1), pp. 446–449.)

Quite similar to the preceding was a burial discovered in Ross County, Ohio. This mound, having a height of 22 feet and a diameter of 90 feet, stood on the third terrace of the Scioto, about 5 miles below Chillicothe. During the course of the exploration of the work a stratum of ashes and charcoal was encountered at a depth of 10 feet below the summit. This mass was from 2 to 6 inches in thickness and about 10 feet square, and "at the depth of 22 feet, and on a level with the original surface, immediately underneath the charcoal layer . . . was a rude timber framework now reduced to an almost impalpable powder, but the *cast* of which was still retained in the hard earth. This inclosure of timber, measured from outside to outside, was 9 feet long by 7 wide, and 20 inches high. It had been constructed of logs laid one on the other, and had evidently been covered with other timbers, which had sunk under the superincumbent earth as they decayed. The bottom had also been covered with bark, matting, or thin slabs—at any rate, a whitish stratum of decomposed material remained, covering the bottom of the parallelogram. Within this rude coffin, with its head to the west, was found a human skeleton." And associated with the human remains were many beads, again resembling the similar burial in Hocking County. (Squier, (2), pp. 164–167.)

Burials of a like nature have been discovered westward to the Mississippi, some very interesting examples having been found in the valley of the Illinois and the circumjacent country.

A stone inclosure discovered in a mound in Rush County, Indiana, about 3½ miles southwest of the village of Milroy, may be considered a typical example of this form of burial. The mound was 5 feet in height and 30 feet in diameter. It stood "on a bluff 20 feet high, at the foot of which flows the stream Little Flat Rock. . . . Inside of it was what might be termed a stone wall inclosing 10 feet square of the mound. Though the wall was not of perfect masonry, yet very evidently it was built for some purpose. . . . On top was common soil 18 inches deep, then clay, next clay and ashes, with coal mixed in it 2 feet thick; then a hardpan of clay, on top of

which were three human adult skeletons and the skull of an infant, all side by side, with their feet toward the east. Around the neck of one were a number of copper and bone beads, the latter of which crumbled immediately. The copper ones were made of sheet copper rolled up." (Jackson, (1), pp. 374–376.)

A mound in Whiteside County, Illinois, was found to cover an inclosure built of the " fossiliferous limestone common in the neighborhood. It was about three feet high, two feet thick at the top, and three feet at the base, piled up loosely, the lower stones broad and flat, rather heavier than one man could well carry. This inclosure was entirely at one side of the center of the mound." The inclosure was about 10 feet square and within it were human remains. (Pratt, (1), pp. 354–361.)

All stone inclosures were not rectangular as were the two examples just described. Some were circular or oval in outline, and some of these were so formed as to converge near the top. Mounds of this nature are said to be quite numerous in Cass County, Illinois, where they occupy the summits of bluffs overlooking the Sangamon. " Rarely exceeding eight or ten feet in height by twenty to thirty in diameter, and more frequently met of much smaller dimensions. The mode of inhumation in mounds of this kind consisted in placing the body or bodies (for they contain from one to six or eight each) of the deceased upon the ground in a sitting or squatting posture, with the face to the east, and inclosing them with a rudely-constructed circular wall of rough, undressed stones, which was gradually contracted at the top, and finally covered over with a single broad stone slab, over all of which the earth was heaped." Implements of bone, a few flint implements, and fragments of pottery of a poor quality are found in these burials. " I would conclude that the class of earthworks under consideration were very old were it not for the singular fact that in one of them, a few years ago, the decayed bones of a single individual were found, with a few flint arrow points, a small earthen cup or vase, and a *iron* gun-barrel very much corroded." (Snyder, (1), p. 572.)

The discovery of the gun barrel in one of the mounds proves the latter to have been reared within two and one half centuries, undoubtedly since the middle of the seventeenth century. Evidently the region was at one time comparatively thickly peopled. On the d'Anville map, published in 1755, the Sangamon appears as the *Emicouen R.* On the left bank of the stream, some 35 miles above its junction with the Illinois, is indicated the site of the *Ancien village des Metchigamias.* The Michigamea was a tribe of the Illinois confederacy, and were first visited by Marquette when he descended the Mississippi in 1673. At that time their village was on the west

side of the Mississippi, in the northeast corner of the present State of Arkansas. The source of the statement on the map is not known. If, however, this was the early home of the tribe, it would be reasonable to attribute to them certain of the burial mounds standing in the valley of the Sangamon, although they may have moved southward before the Illinois obtained firearms. In later years the Kickapoo occupied a village on the Sangamon, but the exact location is not known. It was evidently protected by a palisade, for in mentioning it a century ago it was said, "This fortification is distinguished by the name of Etnataek. It is known to have served as an intrenchment to the Kickapoos and Foxes, who were met there and defeated by the Potawatomis, the Ottowas, and the Chippewas." (Keating, (1), I, p. 171.) And according to the late Dr. William Jones, whose knowledge of the Algonquian language will probably never be equaled by another, the name *Etnataek* may have been derived from *ă'tanataheg*^{i}, signifying "where the battle, fight, or clubbing took place."

The burial mound on the Sangamon Bluff, in which the gun was discovered, may have been erected by the Kickapoo after the valley was abandoned by the Michigamea, and the Kickapoo may likewise have been the builders of other similar works occurring in the country which they once occupied.

A very remarkable example of rectangular stone inclosure was discovered in a mound on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi, in the town of Dunleith, Jo Daviess County, Illinois. This is the extreme northwest corner of the State, and the mound was one of a large group. Its height was about 10 feet, with a diameter of 65 feet. To quote the description of the interior: "The first six feet from the top consisted of hard gray earth. . . . This covered a vault built in part of stone and in part of round logs. When fully uncovered this was found to be a rectangular crypt, inside measurement showing it to be thirteen feet long and seven feet wide. The four straight, surrounding walls were built of small unhewn stones to the height of three feet and a foot or more in thickness. Three feet from each end was a cross wall or partition of like character, thus leaving a central chamber seven feet square, and a narrow cell at each end about two feet wide and seven feet long. This had been entirely covered with a single layer of round logs, varying in diameter from six to twelve inches, laid close together side by side across the width of the vault, the ends resting upon and extending to uneven lengths beyond the side walls." In the central space were 11 human skeletons, as indicated in the drawings, figure 8 showing a section of the mound and figure 9 a ground plan of the inclosure. "They had all apparently been interred at one time as they were found arranged in a circle in a

sitting posture, with backs against the walls. In the center of the space around which they were grouped was a fine large shell, *Busycon perversum*, which had been converted into a drinking cup by removing the columella. Scattered around this were quite a number of pieces of broken pottery. The end cells, walled off as heretofore stated, were nearly filled with a fine chocolate-colored dust, which,

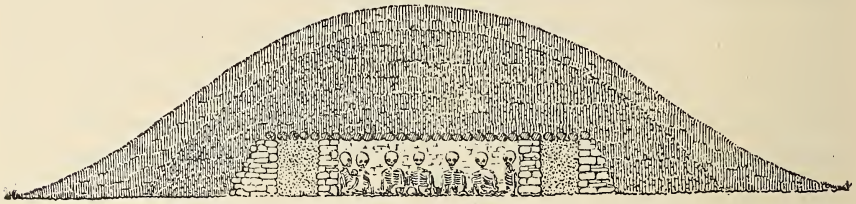

FIG. 8.—Mound in Jo Daviess County, Illinois, section.

when first uncovered, gave out such a sickening odor that it was found necessary to suspend operations until the next day in order to give it time to escape. . . . The covering consisted of oak logs, nearly all of which had been peeled and some of the larger ones somewhat squared by slabbing off the sides before being put in place." (Thomas, (1), pp. 115–117.) Similar inclosures were discovered in

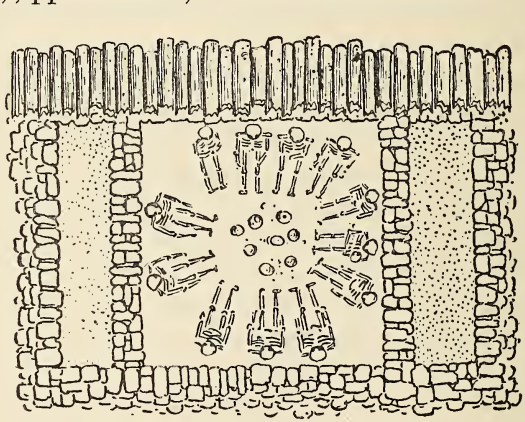

FIG. 9.—Mound in Jo Daviess County, Illinois, base.

other mounds of the group. The true nature of the "fine chocolate-colored dust" was not determined.

While the preceding was one of the most perfectly formed stone inclosures ever found east of the Mississippi and represents a certain high degree of skill of the people by whom it was constructed, another a short distance northward may be regarded as exemplifying the other extreme. This refers to a small mound, one of a group, on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi about 1 mile above Lynxville, Crawford County, Wisconsin. It was 17 feet in diameter

and 2½ feet in height. It covered a stone vault "which, though only about three and one-half feet wide and of the form shown in the figure, extended from the top of the mound down a foot or more below the natural surface of the ground. This contained a single skeleton in a half-upright position. The head was southwest, the feet northeast. Near the right hip was a discoidal stone. There were no traces of coals or ashes in this mound." (Thomas, (1), p. 72.) The ground plan is indicated in figure 10.

The hollowing out of a central space in the original surface, thus forming a resting place for the body or bodies, later to be entirely covered by a mass of earth, appears to have been a well-developed custom of the people who reared the many mounds in southern Wisconsin and the adjoining country, but seldom do such works combine this feature with the stone inclosure as discovered in the small mound mentioned above.

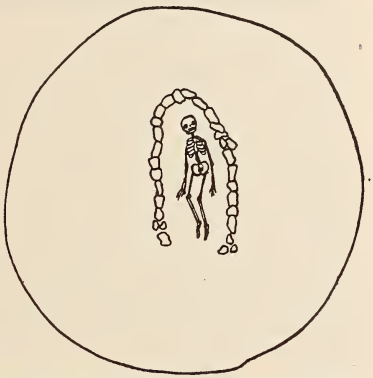

FIG. 10.—Mound in Crawford County, Wisconsin.

The inclosures described are good examples of this peculiar form of tomb, but they are not confined to the country east of the Mississippi, and many have been discovered extending across the State of Missouri, up the valley of the Missouri. (Fowke, (2).) It is one of the most distinctive forms of burial encountered in eastern United States, and likewise one of the most interesting.

The numerous small burial mounds of Wisconsin do not reveal much of interest. They often occur in irregular groups, in some instances being associated with the effigies. Entire skeletons are found in some, but in others the burials are represented by a confused mass of bones. The mounds are seldom more than 10 feet in height, often quite steep, and consequently of a relatively small diameter. Little can be added to the account prepared more than 60 years ago. (Lapham, (1).)

BURIALS IN CAVES

The early settlers of eastern Tennessee, eastern Kentucky, and the adjoining region discovered many caves of varying sizes in the broken, mountainous country. In many instances human remains which had been deposited in the caverns, together with the garments and wrappings of tanned skins or woven fibers, were found in a

remarkable state of preservation, having been thus preserved by the natural salts which abounded within the caves. Fortunately several very clear and graphic accounts of such discoveries were prepared. One most interesting example, then recently made in a cave in Barren County, Kentucky, was described in a letter written August 24, 1815: "In exploring a calcareous chamber in the neighborhood of Glasgow, for saltpetre, several human bodies were found enwrapped carefully in skins and cloths. They were inhumed below the floor of the cave; *inhumed*, not lodged in catacombs. . . . The outer envelope of the body is a deer skin, probably dried in the usual way, and perhaps softened before its application, by rubbing. The next covering is a deer skin, whose hair had been cut away by a sharp instrument. . . . The next wrapper is of cloth, made of twine doubled and twisted. But the thread does not appear to have been formed by the wheel, nor the web by the loom. . . . The innermost tegument is a mantle of cloth like the preceding; but furnished with large brown feathers, arranged and fastened with great art, so as to be capable of guarding the living wearer from wet and cold. The plumage is distinct and entire, and the whole bears a near similitude to the feathery cloaks now worn by the nations of the n. w. coast of America. . . . The body is in a squatting posture. . . . There is a deep and extensive fracture of the skull near the occiput. . . . The skin has sustained little injury. . . . The scalp, with small exceptions, is covered with sorrel or foxy hair." (Mitchill, (1), pp. 318–321.)

Four years earlier a similar discovery was made about 100 miles to the southward, near the center of the State of Tennessee. The entire account is quoted.

"In the spring of the year 1811, was found in a copperas cave in Warren County, in West Tennessee, about 15 miles southwest from Sparta, and 20 from McMinnville, the bodies of two human beings, which had been covered by the dirt or ore from which copperas was made. One of these persons was a male, the other a female. They were interred in baskets, made of cane, curiously wrought, and evidencing great mechanic skill. They were both dislocated at the hip joint, and were placed erect in the baskets, with a covering made of cane to fit the baskets in which they were placed. The flesh of these persons was entire and undecayed, of a brown dryish colour, produced by time, the flesh having adhered closely to the bones and sinews. Around the female, next her body, was placed a well dressed deer skin. Next to this was placed a rug, very curiously wrought, of the bark of a tree and feathers. The bark seemed to have been formed of small strands well twisted. Around each of these strands, feathers were rolled, and the whole woven into a cloth of firm texture,

after the manner of our coarse fabrics. This rug was about three feet wide, and between six and seven in length. The whole of the ligaments thus framed of bark, were completely covered by the feathers, forming a body of about one eighth of an inch in thickness, the feathers extending about one quarter of an inch in length from the strand to which they were confined. The appearance was highly diversified by green, blue, yellow and black, presenting different shades of colour when reflected upon by the light in different positions. The next covering was an undressed deer skin, around which was rolled, in good order, a plain shroud manufactured after the same order as the one ornamented with feathers. This article resembled very much in its texture the bags generally used for the purpose of holding coffee exported from the Havanna to the United States. The female had in her hand a fan formed of the tail feathers of a turkey. The points of these feathers were curiously bound by a buckskin string well dressed, and were thus closely bound for about one inch from the points. About three inches from the point they were again bound, by another deer skin string, in such a manner that the fan might be closed and expanded at pleasure. Between the feathers and this last binding by the string, were placed around each feather, hairs which seem to have been taken from the tail of a deer. This hair was dyed of a deep scarlet red, and was one third at least longer than the hairs of the deer's tail in this climate generally are.

"The male was interred sitting in a basket, after the same manner as the former, with this exception, that he had no feathered rug, neither had he a fan in his hand. The hair which still remained on their heads was entire. . . . The female was, when she deceased, of about the age of 14. The male was somewhat younger. The cave in which they were found, abounded in nitre, copperas, alum and salts. The whole of this covering, with the baskets, was perfectly sound, without any marks of decay." (Haywood, (1), pp. 163–165.)

A somewhat similar burial was encountered in a rock shelter on the bank of Cliff Creek, Morgan County, Tennessee, in 1885. This was some miles northeast of the cave described in 1811. The burial was reached at a depth of 3½ feet in earth strongly charged with nitre. Rolled up in a large split-cane mat were very remarkable examples of aprons made of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), skeins of vegetal fiber, a dog's skull, some bone implements, fragments of human bones, and some hair. All were inclosed in the mat, and together with it were preserved by the natural salts. The specimens are now in the United States National Museum, Washington. (Holmes, (1), p. 30.)

While the preceding burials do not appear to have been placed in prepared graves, other instances have been recorded where the bodies

had been inclosed in a cavity protected by flat stones, thus resembling the stone-lined graves of the region. Such were the conditions revealed in a cave some 4 miles distant from Mammoth Cave, in Warren County, Kentucky. Here the remains were "found at the depth of about ten feet from the surface of the cave, placed in a sitting posture, incased in broad stones, standing on their edges, with a flat stone covering the whole. It was enveloped in coarse clothes . . . the whole wrapped in deer skins, the hair of which was shaved off in the manner in which Indians prepare them for market. Enclosed in the stone coffin, were the working utensils, beads, feathers, and other ornaments of dress, which belonged to her. . . . This place the cave had evident marks of having once been the residence of the aborigines of the country, from the quantity of ashes, and the remains of fuel, and torches made of reed, &c. which were found in it." Other remains had been discovered in this cave previously to the one just described. This was written October 2, 1817. (Wilkins, (1), pp. 361–364.)

Differing from all the cave burials now mentioned, in which the remains had been carefully prepared and wrapped, then deposited with various ornaments, was a discovery made about 1½ miles northeast of Hardinsburgh, Breckinridge County, Kentucky. Here a great mass of bones was found. "The cavern is open toward the south, the overhanging roof protecting the space below from exposure to the elements from above, while immense masses of fallen rock make a wall from ten to twelve feet high, directly in front, between which and the rear wall of the cavern the deposit containing the human remains was found. This deposit consists almost entirely of wood ashes. . . . The deposit is about eight by fifteen feet superficial measure, and was about seven feet in depth. In it, without order, were found thirty or more human skeletons, nearly all with a flat stone laid upon their heads. There were infants and adults promiscuously buried at various depths in the ashes, and at the bottom, on a layer of broken stones, some charred human remains were found. . . . Mingled with these remains many flint and other stone implements and weapons were found, with a few fragments of rude pottery." (Robertson, (1), p. 367.)

Resembling the preceding was a cave in Marshall County, Alabama, about 1 mile west of Guntersville, a short distance from the bank of the Tennessee. "Its floor is covered to the depth of four feet with fragments of human bones, earth, ashes, and broken stones. This fragmentary condition of the deposits is chiefly due to the fact that they have been repeatedly turned over by treasure hunters. Much of this deposit has been hauled away in sacks for fertilizing the land. The number of dead deposited here must have been very great,

for, notwithstanding so much has been removed, there is yet a depth of four feet, chiefly of broken human bones." (Thomas, (1), p. 285.)

Other instances are recorded where a small room or cavity within a large cave had evidently been set apart and converted into a tomb. Haywood mentioned a cave "near the confines of Smith and Wilson Counties, on the south side of Cumberland river, about 22 miles above Cairo, on the waters of Smith's Fork of Cany Fork." The outer portion of the cave was examined and small cavities were entered through natural passages. They reached "another small aperture, which also they entered, and went through, when they came into a narrow room, 25 feet square. Every thing here was neat and smooth. The room seemed to have been carefully preserved for the reception and keeping of the dead. In this room, near about the centre, were found sitting in baskets made of cane, three human bodies; the flesh entire, but a little shrivelled, and not much so. The bodies were those of a man, a female and a small child. . . . The man was wrapped in 14 dressed deer skins. The 14 deer skins were wrapped in what those present called blankets. They were made of bark. . . . The form of the baskets which enclosed them was pyramidal, being larger at the bottom, and declining to the top. The heads of the skeletons, from the neck, were above the summits of the blankets." (Haywood, (1), pp. 191–192.) This would have been near the center of the State of Tennessee.

The same writer records another example quite like the preceding. (Op. cit., p. 195.) This was in Giles County, Tennessee, which touches the Alabama line. The cave was on the east bank of a creek, 7½ miles north of the village of Pulaski. The cave contained several cavities or rooms, "the first 15 feet wide, and 27 long; 4 feet deep, the upper part of solid and even rock. In the cave was a passage, which had been so artfully covered that it escaped detection till lately." When the stones closing the opening had been removed, and the cavity entered, human bones were found scattered over the floor, which had been formed of "flat stones of a bluish hue, being closely joined together, and of different forms and sizes."

Various other burials, similar to those already mentioned, could be described, but without adding materially to the details. Many such discoveries were undoubtedly made by the early settlers and pioneers, all traces of which have been lost and to which no references have been preserved. It is within reason to attribute these burials in caves to the same people who constructed the stone-lined graves, but in the latter all objects and material of a perishable nature have long since disappeared, whereas garments and wrappings when deposited in caves in contact with certain natural salts have been preserved. Therefore, if the hypothesis is correct, and the builders of the stone-

lined graves were the same people who would often deposit their dead in the natural caverns, many of the bodies when placed in the graves would probably have been similarly wrapped in skins or pieces of woven fiber, some decorated with feathers, some plain. But now little is encountered in the graves in addition to crumbling, decaying bones.

The manner in which some of the cave burials had been prepared, with the outer wrappings formed of mats of cane or rushes, tends to recall Lawson's account of the burial customs of the Carolina tribes with whom he came in contact very early in the eighteenth century. And undoubtedly there was intercourse between the occupants of the villages along the eastern slopes, in the western portion of the present State of North Carolina, and the people who claimed and occupied the valleys across the mountains. All may have had various customs in common.

IROQUOIAN GROUPS

Iroquoian tribes occupied the greater part of the present State of New York, forming the League of the Iroquois, which often held the balance of power between the French and British colonies. Towns were numerous and frequently consisted of a strongly protected group of bark-covered houses, including the extended communal dwellings, some of which were 80 feet or more in length. The five nations of the league were the Mohawk, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca. The Susquehanna, met by a party of Virginia colonists in 1608 near the mouth of the stream which bears the tribal name, the Cherokee of the southern mountain country, and the Tuscarora and neighboring tribes, were members of this linguistic family. The Tuscarora moved northward early in the eighteenth century and in 1722 became the sixth nation of the league.

THE FIVE NATIONS

Writing of the Iroquois or Five Nations, during the early years of the eighteenth century, at a time when they dominated the greater part of the present State of New York, it was said: "Their funeral Rites seem to be formed upon a Notion of some Kind of Existence after Death. They make a large round Hole, in which the Body can be placed upright, or upon its Haunches, which after the Body is placed in it, is covered with Timber, to support the Earth which they lay over, and thereby keep the Body free from being pressed; they then raise the Earth in a round Hill over it. They always dress the Corps in all its Finery, and put Wampum and other Things into the Grave with it; and the Relations suffer not Grass or any Weed to

grow on the Grave, and frequently visit it with Lamentations." (Colden, (1), p. 16.)

The circular mound of earth over the grave was likewise mentioned a century earlier, having been seen at the Oneida village which stood east of the present Munnsville, Madison County, New York. "Before we reached the castle we saw three graves, just like our graves in length and height; usually their graves are round. These graves were surrounded with palisades that they had split from trees, and they were closed up so nicely that it was a wonder to see. They were painted with red and white and black paint; but the chief's grave had an entrance, and at the top of that was a big wooden bird, and all around were painted dogs and deer and snakes, and other beasts." (Van Curler, (1), p. 92.)

Within recent years a cemetery has been discovered about 2 miles northeast of Munnsville, and just south of it has been located a site protected by a stockade. This may have been the position of the great Oneida town, but the nature of the burials is not known. Whether the two preceding accounts referred to graves of sufficient magnitude to be classed as mounds, or whether they alluded merely to a small mass of earth raised over an individual pit burial, is difficult to determine; nevertheless burial mounds do occur throughout the country of the Iroquois, but they are neither numerous nor large.

In Erie County, near the bank of Buffalo Creek, formerly stood a rather irregular embankment, semicircular in form, and touching the steep bank at both ends. The inclosed area was about 4 acres. This was one of the favorite sites of the Senecas, and within the inclosure was one of their largest cemeteries. Here is the grave of "the haughty and unbending Red Jacket, who died exulting that the Great Spirit had made him an Indian! . . . Tradition fixes upon this spot as the scene of the final and most bloody conflict between the Iroquois and the '*Gah-kwas*' or Eries. . . . The old mission-house and church stand in close proximity to this mark. . . . Red Jacket's house stood above a third of a mile to the southward upon the same elevation; and the abandoned council-house is still standing, perhaps a mile distant, in the direction of Buffalo. A little distant beyond, in the same direction and near the public road, is a small mound, called *Dah-do-sot*, artificial hill, by the Indians, who, it is said, were accustomed to regard it with much veneration, supposing that it covered the victims slain in some bloody conflict in the olden times. . . . It was originally between five and six feet in height by thirty-five or forty feet base, and composed of the adjacent loam." It was partially examined, and only a few bits of charcoal, some half-formed arrowheads, etc., were found. (Squier, (1), pp. 51–53.)

Several other mounds may be mentioned, and these may be considered as being typical of all existing in the country of the Five Nations. Schoolcraft referred to a mound which stood about 1 mile distant, up the Tonawanda, in Genesee County. Another was some 2 miles south of the first. Both were discovered in the year 1810, and contained many human bones. Glass beads were recovered from the one which stood farther north. In the adjoining county of Monroe were two mounds, the larger being not more than 5 feet in height. They were on the "high, sandy grounds to the westward of Irondequoit Bay, where it connects with Lake Ontario." These are said to have been examined in 1817, at which time various objects of European origin were found, including a sword scabbard, bands of silver, belt buckles, and similar pieces.

The mounds already mentioned were within the territory of the Seneca, and those described in Genesee and Monroe Counties were erected within historic times.

The Oneida occupied the country northeast of Lake Ontario, and a site "near the east end of Long Sault Island," in St. Lawrence County, may have been occupied by one of their villages. A mound south of this site was examined, and in it were discovered seven skeletons, and associated with the burials were various objects of native origin, including "a large pitcher-like vessel, four gouges, and some very coarse cloth, which looked like our hair cloth, only very coarse. Also seven strings of beads." (Beauchamp, (2).) A mound on St. Regis Island, in Franklin County, which touches St. Lawrence on the west, was opened in 1818. It contained deposits of human remains, those nearer the upper surface being the best preserved. This would have been in the Mohawk country.

Mound burials are likewise to be encountered in the southern counties, one very interesting example having been discovered in Chenango, the region later occupied by the Tuscarora. This was in Green Township, near the mouth of Geneganstlet Creek. It was originally about 6 feet in height and 40 feet in diameter. "It was opened in 1829 and abundant human bones were found, and much deeper beneath them were others which had been burned. It was not an orderly burial, and the bones crumbled on being exposed. In one part were about 200 yellow and black jasper arrowheads, and 60 more in another place. Also a silver band or ring about 2 inches in diameter, wide but thin, and with what appeared to be the remains of a reed pipe within it. A number of stone gouges or chisels of different shapes, and a piece of mica cut in the form of a heart, the border much decayed and the laminæ separated, were also discovered." (Wilkinson, (1).)

The finding of a piece of mica in this burial at once suggests the mound may have been the work of the Tuscarora. The mica "cut in the form of a heart" was probably carried by them from Carolina when they went northward in the early years of the eighteenth century, and became the sixth nation of the league. A short distance beyond, in the adjoining county of Otsego, is an island in the Susquehanna near the mouth of Charlotte River, and a mound stands on the island which is known locally as the grave of the chief Kagatinga, probably a village chief not known in history. In the extreme northern part of the same county, near Richfield Springs, was a mound often visited by the Oneida, and said by them to have been the burial place of one of their chief men. This will tend to recall the visits made by parties of Indians to the burial mounds in piedmont Virginia, a region once claimed and occupied by Siouan tribes.

From the few references just given it is quite evident the Iroquois followed a form of mound burial even after the coming of the French, and it is also clearly established that such burials were more frequent in the western than in the eastern part of their country. Mounds similar to those mentioned have been encountered in every county west of a line running north and south through Oneida Lake, but are far less numerous to the eastward.

OSSUARIES

Many ossuaries have been encountered in the western counties of the State of New York, which, however, may be attributed to the influence of the Huron. These great pits often contain vast quantities of skeletal remains, together with numbers of objects of native origin which had been deposited as offerings to the dead, and material obtained from the early traders is sometimes found associated with the later burials. The ossuaries appear to have been rectangular in form, to have occupied rather prominent positions, and to have been carefully prepared. Such a communal burial place was discovered in May, 1909, about 1 mile southwest of Gasport, Niagara County, but unfortunately no detailed record of its contents was preserved. A part of the excavation is shown in plate 10, *b*.

HURON CEREMONY, 1636

In contemplating the origin of the preceding burial it is of interest to read the description of a similar burial, as witnessed and recorded by the Jesuit Père Le Jeune, in the year 1636. But the father had much to say about the manners and customs of the people among whom he labored—the Huron—whose villages were in the vicinity of Lake Simcoe. He told of the manner in which the family

and friends gathered about the sick person while making various necessary plans and preparations in anticipation of the end, and continued: "As soon as the sick man has drawn his last breath, they place him in the position in which he is to be in the grave; they do not stretch him at length as we do, but place him in a crouching posture, almost the same that a child has in its mother's womb. Thus far, they restrain their tears. After having performed these duties the whole Cabin begins to respond with cries, groans, and wails. . . . As soon as they cease, the Captain goes promptly through the Cabins, making known that such and such a one is dead. On the arrival of friends, they begin anew to weep and complain. . . . Word of the death is also sent to the friends who live in the other Villages; and, as each family has some one who takes care of its dead, these latter come as soon as possible to take charge of everything, and determine the day of the funeral. Usually they inter the Dead on the third day; as soon as it is light, the Captain gives orders that throughout the whole Village a feast be made for the dead." This being accomplished, "the Captain publishes throughout the Village that the body is about to be borne to the Cemetery. The whole Village assembles in the Cabin; and weeping is renewed; and those who have charge of the ceremonies get ready a litter on which the corpse is placed on a mat and enveloped in a Beaver robe, and then four lift and carry it away; the whole Village follows in silence to the Cemetery. A Tomb is there, made of bark and supported on four stakes, eight to ten feet high. However, before the corpse is put into it, and before they arrange the bark, the Captain makes known the presents that have been given by the friends. In this Country, as well as elsewhere, the most agreeable consolations for the loss of friends are always accompanied by presents, such as kettles, axes, Beaver robes, and Porcelain collars. . . ." All these gifts were not deposited with the dead. Some were distributed among the relations of the deceased and others were given to those persons who assisted with the ceremonies. Others were offered as prizes in games played by the younger men.

"The graves are not permanent; as their Villages are stationary only during a few years, while the supplies of the forest last, the bodies only remain in the Cemeteries until the feast of the Dead, which usually takes place every twelve years." During the years between the death and the time of the final disposition of the remains the departed were often honored in many ways by the members of the family or by the entire village. And then came the great ceremony: "The feast of the Dead is the most renowned ceremony among the Huron; they give it the name of feast because . . . when the bodies are taken from their Cemeteries, each

Captain makes a feast for the souls in his Village," and the feast was conducted with much form, "now usually there is only a single feast in each Nation; all the bodies are put into a common pit. I say, usually, for this year, which has happened to be the feast of the Dead, the kettle has been divided; and five Villages of the part where we are have acted by themselves, and have put their dead into a private pit. . . . Twelve years or thereabouts having elapsed, the Old Men and Notables of the Country assemble, to deliberate in a definite way on the time at which the feast shall be held to the satisfaction of the whole Country and of the foreign Nations that may be invited to it. The decision having been made, as all the bodies are to be transported to the Village where is the common grave, each family sees to its dead, but with a care and affection that cannot be described: if they have dead relatives in any part of the Country, they spare no trouble to go for them; they take them from the Cemeteries, bear them on their shoulders, and cover them with the finest robes they have. In each Village they choose a fair day, and proceed to the Cemetery, where those called *Aiheonde*, who take care of the graves, draw the bodies from the tombs in the presence of the relatives, who renew their tears and feel afresh the grief they had the day of the funeral . . . after having opened the graves, they display before you all these Corpses, on the spot, and they leave them thus exposed long enough for the spectators to learn at their leisure, and once for all, what they will be some day. The flesh of some is quite gone, and there is only parchment on their bones; in other cases, the bodies look as if they had been dried and smoked, and show scarcely any signs of putrefaction; and in still other cases they are still swarming with worms. When the friends have gazed upon the bodies to their satisfaction, they cover them with handsome Beaver robes quite new: finally, after some time they strip them of their flesh, taking off skin and flesh which they throw into the fire along with the robes and mats in which the bodies were wrapped. As regards the bodies of those recently dead, they leave these in the state in which they are, and content themselves by simply covering them with new robes. . . . The bones having been well cleaned, they put them partly into bags, partly into fur robes, loaded them on their shoulders, and covered these packages with another beautiful hanging robe. As for the whole bodies, they put them on a species of litter, and carried them with all the others, each into his Cabin, where each family made a feast to its dead." The bones of the dead were called by the Huron *Atisken*, "the souls."

For several days between the removal of the bodies from the tombs and the starting for the scene of the last rites, these many bundles of

bones were either hung from the walls of the dwellings or lay upon the floor, and in one "Cabin there were fully a hundred souls hung to and fixed upon the poles, some of which smelled a little stronger than musk." At last the time arrived when all were gathered about the great excavation in which the remains were to be deposited: "Let me describe the arrangement of this place. It was about the size of the place Royale at Paris. There was in the middle of it a great pit, about ten feet deep and five brasses wide. All around it was a scaffold, a sort of staging very well made, nine to ten brasses in width, and from nine to ten feet high; above this staging there were a number of poles laid across, and well arranged, with cross-poles to which these packages of souls were hung and bound. The whole bodies, as they were to be put in the bottom of the pit, had been the preceding day placed under the scaffold, stretched upon bark or mats fastened to stakes about the height of a man, on the borders of the pit. The whole Company arrived with their corpses about an hour after Midday, and divided themselves into different cantons, according to their families and Villages, and laid on the ground their parcels of souls, almost as they do earthen pots at the Village Fairs. They unfolded also their parcels of robes, and all the presents they had brought, and hung them upon poles, which were from 5 to 600 toises in extent; so there were as many as twelve hundred presents which remained thus on exhibition two full hours, to give Strangers time to see the wealth and magnificence of the Country." Later in the day the pit was lined with new beaver robes, each of which was made of ten skins. The bottom and sides were thus covered, and the robes lay a foot or more over the edge. Forty-eight robes were required to form the lining, and others of a like nature were wrapped about the remains. The entire bodies were first placed in the bottom of the pit, and the bundles of bones were deposited above. "On all sides you could have seen them letting down half-decayed bodies; and on all sides was heard a horrible din of confused voices of persons, who spoke and did not listen; ten or twelve were in the pit and were arranging the bodies all around it, one after another. They put in the very middle of the pit three large kettles, which could only be of use for souls; one had a hole through it, another had no handle, and the third was of scarcely more value." The entire bodies were placed in the pit the first day, and the bundles of loose bones were deposited on the morning of the second, after which the beaver robes were folded over the remains which reached nearly to the mouth of the pit. And then all was covered "with sand, poles, and wooden stakes, which they threw in without order," after which "some women brought to it some dishes of corn; and that day, and the following days, several Cabins of the Village provided nets quite

full of it, which were thrown upon the pit." (Le Jeune, (1), pp. 265–317.)

Much detail not quoted at this time is to be found in this vivid narrative, and many of the beliefs and superstitions of the people are recorded. He told of the treatment of the body of a person accidentally drowned: "Last year, at the beginning of November [1635], a Savage was drowned when returning from fishing; he was interred on the seventeenth, without any ceremonies. On the same day snow fell in such abundance that it hid the earth all the winter; and our Savages did not fail to cast the blame on their not having cut up the dead person as usual. Such are the sacrifices they make to render Heaven favorable." (P. 165.)

And regarding the Huron belief in the future state the same father wrote (p. 143): "As to what is the state of the soul after death, they hold that it separates in such a way from the body that it does not abandon it immediately. When they bear it to the grave, it walks in front, and remains in the cemetery until the feast of the Dead; by night, it walks through the village and enters the Cabins, where it takes its part in the feasts, and eats what is left at evening in the kettle; whence it happens that many, on this account, do not willingly eat from it on the morrow; there are even some of them who will not go to the feasts made for the souls, believing that they would certainly die if they should even taste of the provisions prepared for them; others, however, are not so scrupulous, and eat their fill. At the feast of the Dead, which takes place about every twelve years, the souls quit the cemeteries, and in the opinion of some are changed into Turtledoves, which they pursue later in the woods, with bow and arrow, to broil and eat; nevertheless the most common belief is that after this ceremony . . . they go away in company, covered as they are with robes and collars which have been put into the grave for them, to a great Village, which is toward the setting Sun, except, however, the old people and the little children who have not as strong limbs as the others to make this voyage; these remain in the country, where they have their own particular Villages."

Several very interesting details are revealed in the account of this great burial which occurred nearly three centuries ago. The first is the reference to the entire bodies being placed in the bottom of the pit. This obviously alludes to entire skeletons as distinguished from the bundles of detached or dissociated bones. If this was a recognized custom of the makers of the ossuaries it would be expected, when examining a great burial of this sort, to find the positions and general arrangement of the remains differing in various parts of the ancient pit; to find several strata, with a greater variety of bones in one than in the other. The second point of interest men-

tioned in this early narrative is that in which reference is made to the richness of the material deposited in the pit with the remains, but the greater part was of a perishable nature and should this pit be encountered at the present day its contents would probably resemble those of the ossuary discovered near Gasport in 1909.

Other great burial places, similar to that discovered near Gasport, have been encountered in the same county, 10 miles or more south of Lake Ontario, on the Tuscarora Reservation. On the northern border of the reservation stood an ancient inclosure, and "a little over half a mile west of the inclosure," and about 20 rods distant from the edge of the bluff upon which it stood, "was a large bone pit. It was marked by a low conical elevation, not over a foot and a half high and 27 feet in diameter. Directly in the center was a slight depression in which lay a large flat stone with a number of similar stones under and around it. At the depth of 18 inches the bones seemed to have been disturbed. Among them was a Canadian penny. This, Mount Pleasant (the Tuscarora chief) thought, may have been dropped in there by a missionary who, thirty years before, had found on the reservation a skull with an arrowhead sticking in it; or by some Indian, for it is, or was, an Indian custom to do this where bones have been disturbed, by way of paying for the disturbance or for some article taken from the grave. The bones seemed to have belonged to both sexes and were thrown in without order; they were, however, in a good state of preservation. Three copper rings were found near finger bones. The roots of trees that had stood above the pit made digging quite difficult; yet sixty skulls were brought to the surface, and it is quite likely that the pit contained as many as a hundred skeletons. The longest diameter of the pit was 9 feet; its depth 5 feet. There were no indications on the skulls of death from bullet wounds. Two similar elevations, one 18 or 20 feet, the other 10 rods, directly east of this pit, were opened sufficiently to show that they were burial places of a similar character. Like the first, these contained flat stones, lying irregularly near the top. Charcoal occurred in small pieces in all. Indian implements and ornaments, and several Revolutionary relics, were found in the adjoining field." (Thomas, (1), pp. 512–513.)

Another ossuary, evidently quite similar to the one described by Père Le Jeune, was discovered in 1824, some 6 miles west of Lockport, in Niagara County. "The top of the pit was covered with small slabs of Medina sandstone, and was 24 feet square by 4½ in depth, the planes agreeing with the four cardinal points. It was filled with human bones of both sexes and all ages. . . . In one skull, two flint arrow heads were found, and many had the ap-

pearance of having been fractured and cleft open, by a sudden blow. They were piled in regular layers, but with no regard to size or sex. Pieces of pottery were picked up in the pit, and had also been ploughed up in the field adjacent." The finding of "some metal tools with a French stamp" prove the later burials to have been of comparatively recent origin. (Schoolcraft, (1), pp. 217–218.)

In the adjoining county of Erie, "upon a sandy, slightly elevated peninsula, which projects into a low tangled swamp," about 1½ miles southwest of Clarence Hollow, stood a small, irregular inclosure. Human remains were discovered when plowing the neighboring heights. About 1 mile to the eastward of the inclosure, occupying a dry, sandy spot, was an extensive ossuary, estimated to have contained 400 skeletons, "heaped promiscuously together. They were of individuals of every age and sex. In the same field are found a great variety of Indian relics, also brass cap and belt plates, and other remains of European origin." Near this point was discovered, "a year or two since, a skeleton surrounded by a quantity of rude ornaments. It had been placed in a cleft of the rock, the mouth of which was covered by a large flint stone." (Squier, (1), p. 56.)

Many other references to great communal burials, similar to those already described, could be quoted. All, however, seem to have been quite alike in appearance, the principal difference at the present time being in their size. When constructed some were undoubtedly more richly lined with robes of beaver skins and other furs than others, and the number and variety of objects deposited with the dead naturally varied. But as the greater proportion of the material placed in the pits with the remains was of a perishable nature all this has now disappeared, leaving only the fragmentary decomposed bones, which in turn will soon vanish, and little will remain to indicate the great communal burial places.

A note in Graham's Magazine, January, 1853, page 102, may refer to the discovery of an ossuary, similar to those already described, but if so it was not recognized as such. The note stated that "Workmen on the line of the New York, Corning, and Buffalo Rail Road, on the east side of the Genesee River, and about fifteen rods from the water's edge, while cutting through a sand-bank, have exhumed many human skeletons, piled one above another, with every sign of a hasty military burial. . . . These discoveries strengthen a belief long entertained, that in 1687 the Marquis de Nouvellé fought his famous battle with the Senecas at or near the burial place mentioned, that on the banks of the Genesee, within the limits of Avon, Frank and Red Man closed in mortal death-struggle." This would

have been across the river, and not far distant from *Canawaugus*, and may have been a burial place belonging to that village.

LATER HURON BURIAL, 1675

Having such a clear and vivid description of the early burial customs of the Huron, and the various ceremonies which were enacted by members of that tribe at the time of the death of one of their number, as recorded by Père Le Jeune, in 1636, it is of interest to compare them with the later customs of the same people, after they had become influenced by the teachings of the missionaries. The later account relates to the people of *la Mission de Notre-Dame de Lorette*, in the year 1675, at which time "about 300 souls, both Huron and Iroquois," were gathered about the Mission and heard the teachings of the Jesuits. And regarding the burial of their dead it was said: "Their custom is as follows: as soom as any one dies, the captain utters a lugubrious cry through the village to give notice of it. The relatives of the deceased have no need to trouble themselves about anything, beyond weeping for their dead; because every family takes care that the body is shrouded, the grave dug, and the corpse borne to it and buried, and that everything else connected with the burial is done,—a service that they reciprocally render to one another on similar occasions.

"When the hour for the funeral has come, the clergy usually go to the cabin to get the body of the deceased, which is dressed in his finest garments, and generally covered over with a fine red blanket, quite new. After that, nothing is done beyond what is customary for the French, until the grave is reached. Upon arriving there, the family of the deceased, who hitherto have only had to weep, display all their wealth, from which they give various presents. This is done through captain, who, after pronouncing a sort of funeral oration, which is usually rather short, offers the first present to the church,—generally a fine large porcelain collar,—in order that prayers may be said for the repose of the dead person's soul. Then he gives, out of all the dead man's effects, three or four presents to those who bury him; then some to the most intimate friends of the deceased. The last of all these presents is that given to the relatives of the deceased, by those who bury him. Finally, the whole ceremony concludes by placing the body in the ground in the following manner. A wide grave is dug, 4 to 5 feet deep, capable of holding more than six bodies, but all lined with bark on the bottom and four sides. This forms a sort of cellar, in which they lay the body, and over which they place a large piece of bark in the shape of a tomb; it is supported by sticks placed crosswise over the excavation, that this bark may not sink into the tomb, and that it may hold up the earth that is to be thrown on it; the body thus lies therein as in a cham-

ber without touching the earth at all. Finally, some days after the burial, when the tears of the relatives have been dried to some extent, they give a feast to give the deceased back to life, that is, to give his name to another, whom they urged to imitate the dead man's good actions while taking his name." (Dablon, (1), pp. 35–37.)

A large grave as described in the preceding account would, in after years, when the supporting bark had become decayed and fallen, have been sunken and irregular. The remains would have become scattered within the excavated space, and all the lining would have disappeared. This may, and undoubtedly does, explain the origin of many burials in the eastern part of the country, especially in New England.

When telling of the presents exchanged and given at the time of burial, Père Dablon mentioned particularly that the first was made to the church, and this was "generally, a fine large porcelain collar," *porcelain* here refering to wampum. Such a specimen is now in the small museum connected with the Collegio di Propaganda Fide, at Rome, where it was deposited many years ago by some missionary when he returned from America. Unfortunately the history of the remarkable piece is not known, but is one of the most interesting examples of wampum preserved in any collection. This is shown in plate 1, the reproductions being made from photographs of the original, made by the writer in 1905. It measures nearly 6 feet 6 inches in length and about 4¼ inches in width, made up of 15 rows of beads, each row consisting of 646 beads, or 9,690 in all. The design suggests the attempt to represent on one side Christianity, on the other paganism. At the end of the first side is evidently shown the chapel of the mission, with one window and a cross above the doorway. Next are several characters which may identify the mission; and beyond these are two keys, crossed. In the middle are two figures, evidently a missionary on the right and an Indian on the left, holding between them a cross, the Christian symbol. This most unusual and interesting piece of native workmanship, although showing so clearly the influence of the teachings of the missionaries, should undoubtedly be considered as having served as a "present to the church" at the time of burial of some native convert, possibly two centuries or more ago. Arranged and fastened as it is suggests its use as a collar or stole, something more elaborate than an ordinary wampum "belt." The entire design is shown in figure 11.

FIG. 11.—Design on wampum collar.

Having described this remarkable piece of wampum, the most interesting example of such work known to exist, it may be well to refer briefly to wampum in general.

The term wampum, derived from an Algonquian word, has often been applied to all shell beads, but the true wampum beads are of a cylindrical form, averaging about one-eighth inch in diameter and one-fourth inch in length. They are of two sorts, white and violet, the latter by many writers being termed black. The violet beads were made of a part of the *Venus mercenaria*, while various shells were used in making the white variety. It is quite probable that such beads were made and used by the native tribes along the Atlantic coast before the coming of Europeans, although it is equally probable that after acquiring metal tools, or bits of metal capable of being fashioned into drills, they were made in greater quantities and of a more regular form.

In the year 1656 there appeared in London a small printed catalogue of the collections belonging to John Tradescant. This was the first publication of such a nature in the English language. The title of this little volume is "Museum Tradescantianum: or a Collection of Rarities preserved at South Lambeth near London, by John Tradescant. London, M.DC.LVI." On page 51 of the catalogue is mention of a "Black Indian girdle made of wampum peek best sort." This is probably the earliest reference to a piece of wampum in a European collection, and it proves that various qualities were recognized. This was made clear by an entry in the Catalogue and Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities, belonging to the Royal Society, and preserved at Gresham College, London, 1681. A most valuable reference to and description of wampum appears on page 370, and is quoted in full:

"Several sorts of Indian Money, called wampam peage, 'Tis made of a shell, formed into small *Cylinders*, about a $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch long, and $\frac{1}{5}$ over, or somewhat more or less: and so being bored as *Beads* and put upon *Strings*, pass among the Indians, in their usual Commerse, as Silver and Gold amongst us. But being loose is not so current.

"The meanest is in *Single Strings*. Of which here is both the White and Black. By measure, the former goes at Five shillings the Fathome; the latter, at Ten. By Number the former at Six a penny; the latter, at Three.

"The next in value is that which is Woven together into *Bracelets* about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a yard long: Black and White, in Stripes, and six pieces in a Row; the warp consisting of *Leathern Thongs*, the *Woofe* of *Thread*. The *Bracelets* the *Zauksquaes* or *Gentlewomen* commonly wear twice or thrice about their Wrists.

"The best is woven into *Girdles*. Of this there are two sorts. One about a yard long; with fourteen pieces in a Row, woven, for the most part, into black and white *Squares*, continued obliquely from edge to edge. The other, not all-out so long, but with fifteen pieces in a Row woven into black *Rhombs* or *Diamond-Squares* and *Crosses* within them. The spaces between filled up with white. These two last, are sometimes worn as their richest Ornaments; but chiefly used in great Payments, esteemed their Noblest Presents, and laid up as their Treasure."

Such were the varied uses of the true wampum, and the great collar in the Collegio di Propaganda Fide, at Rome, would have belonged to the last group, one of "their Noblest Presents," in this instance undoubtedly serving as a "present to the church," as related by Père Dablon.

SENECA CEREMONY, 1731

Throughout the greater part of the region once occupied by the Five Nations are discovered their ancient cemeteries, often situated near the sites of their former villages. Some have been examined, and these usually reveal the human remains, now rapidly disappearing, lying in an extended position. Few accounts of the ceremonies which attended the death and burial of these people have been preserved, but one of the most interesting relates to the Seneca, as enacted during the month of June, 1731. True, the two persons who were buried at this Seneca village were not members of the tribe, but, nevertheless, the rites were those of the latter. The relation is preserved in the journal of a Frenchman who visited the Seneca at that time, accompanied by a small party of Algonquian Indians. During the visit one of the Algonquian women was killed by her husband and he in turn was executed by the Seneca. The double funeral which followed was described by the French traveler, who recorded many interesting details. He first referred to a structure where the bodies were kept for several days after death and there prepared for burial, and when he arrived at this cabin it was already crowded with men and women, "all seated or rather squatting on their knees, with the exception of four women, who, with disheveled locks, were lying face downward, at the feet of the dead woman." These were the chief mourners. The body of the woman was placed on an elevated stage. It was dressed in blue and white garments and a wampum belt was the only ornament. The face was painted, with vermilion on the lips. In her right hand was placed a garden implement, "to denote that during her life she had been a good worker," and in the left hand rested "the end of a rope, the other end of which, floating in a large bark dish, indicated the sad fate which brought her life to an end."

This refers to her having been drowned. The body of her husband, who had been executed by the Seneca, was on the opposite side of the cabin, "but in a most humiliating posture, for he had been stretched at length on his blanket, face downward, with his hands joined over his head, as if to bear witness to the despair or the repentance which he would have felt for his crime, had he been alive." His body and face were painted with white and black, and he was partly covered with rags. Suspended from a pole placed for the purpose between his legs were "his gun, his hatchet, his knife, his pouch of tobacco, and all his belongings." The interior of the cabin was crowded, and as many more were grouped about outside, and now the "Mistress of Ceremonies . . . began to chant her doleful lamentations." She related how the two had met their deaths, and "scarcely had she made the first movement, weeping alone, when the four other women whom I have mentioned, arose and responded regularly to her cadence—that is to say, they made their lamentations in turn and with the same intonation as the leader, whose every gesture they imitated. . . . These women tore their hair, joined their hands toward heaven, and poured forth in a plaintive tone a torrent of words suitable to the person whose part they represented, according to the different degrees of relationship or connection, which this same person bore to the deceased man or woman." This chanting continued for nearly half an hour, when "an Algonquian, who was no relation of the dead woman, imposed silence, rising, and instantly no more lamentations were heard. This Indian first made the Funeral Oration of this unfortunate woman, whose good qualities he set forth in particular, as I was told, to make it understood that she must be happy in the land of departed souls, and that her relatives should be consoled for her loss." The Algonquian speaker was immediately followed by an old man of the Iroquois, who "made a defense for the dead man, that is to say he undertook to account for his action in representing to the assembly that this unfortunate husband had doubtless been possessed with the evil Spirit on the day that he had drowned his wife, and that consequently this Indian not having been master of himself at the time of this evil deed, he rather merited pity than the condemnation of the present assembly." He referred to the dead man as a great warrior and hunter, and deplored the act which made it necessary for the *Tsonnontouanne* to slay him. He then called attention to the position of the body. "Finally, in order the more to excite the compassion of the spectators, this Iroquois threw himself at the feet of the dead woman whose pardon he besought, in the name of her husband, and he protested that had it been in his power to restore her to life, she would certainly not be in her sad plight. Then to crown his discourse he addressed the father-in-law of the executed man and asked if he was not satisfied

with the repentance of his late son-in-law. At these last words, this good man replied 'Etho,' which means yes." The body of the man was then carried to the river, near the village, where it was thoroughly washed, all traces of paint being removed, then "four young men carried it back with great ceremony into the same cabin from which they had taken it. As soon as it was replaced it was repainted, but in beautiful and divers colors, after which it was neatly clothed, a gun was placed in his hand, a pipe in his mouth, and he was seated beside his wife." Thus the bodies remained during the night and until the following morning, and this interval "was spent in condolences among a number of Indians who came by turn to speak to the two corpses."

The burial occurred on the following day, June 17, 1731. That morning all were quiet in the village; they were seated or lying about, with heads on their knees and often wrapped in blankets, and each cabin was to hold a feast for the dead. The Frenchman again entered the cabin and there saw the bodies "each in a coffin made of a piece of white bark, without covering, so that the face and body were visible." Both were dressed as on the previous day. "Their knees were raised so as to support a cross four feet high, which had been placed with each body in such a way that, the coffin of the woman being opposite to that of her husband, the two crosses formed a sort of arch, under which all the Indians passed back and forth, prostrating themselves to the ground, and in turn offering prayers to the Great Spirit for the repose of the souls of these two dead people. About eleven o'clock the doleful lamentations began again and were heard on all sides. The chief mourners seemed only to serve as leaders to show the other women how they should groan or weep. The men said no word and one heard only the groanings and lamentations of the women. However, this pitiful music did not last long as the chief made a sign for them to stop, to make way for the Orators of the occasion to speak. At the end of their speech, which was sad and very short, one of the old people made presents of marten and beaver skins to the Algonquians, relations of the deceased, he also gave some marten skins to my *Abenaquis*, to the mourners, and to several other Indians among the company. At last they took the crosses off the bodies, after which four young Indians painted black, raising the husband's body, and four others painted white and red, taking the wife's body, carried them on their shoulders to the village cemetery, about 40 or 50 fathoms [toises] distant. The two young men who served as Cross bearers preceded the funeral procession. Immediately after them came the Mistress of Ceremonies for the mourners, she was followed by her four female mourners around the two bodies, and lastly the men carrying their guns brought up the rear of the funeral procession. As soon as the two

bodies had reached the cemetery they were placed at the side of the graves which had been prepared for them, and all their clothing and ornaments were taken off."

The old engraving showing the procession after it had entered the cemetery is here reproduced as plate 11, *b*. The open graves are shown, all surrounded by a palisade, and beyond are the cabins. "Whilst this last office was being performed the men formed a large circle around them, said prayers in a loud voice, and sung three hymns as follows, one after the style of our *Dies irae*, *dies illa*, the other like our *Libera me Domine* and another like our *De Profondis;* these hymns were really the same as ours, which the Jesuits had doubtless translated for them. After the Indians had finished these three Canticles each one placed their hands on those of the two bodies, as if to say good bye. Then they cut a lock of hair from the tops of their heads which were given to the nearest relative, and they were lowered into the graves. It was then that the women vied with each other in making grimaces and shedding tears, and groaning in a horrible manner. It was now that they said indeed: Adieu my good friend, the great warrior, the splendid hunter. Adieu then Jeanne, the fine singer, the graceful dancer." The bodies were placed in separate graves, very deep. "The graves were filled in with straw and they were not filled up with earth. They were simply covered with strong pieces of bark placed in the form of a roof, surmounted by stones. Finally they placed at the head of the graves the same crosses which had been on the bodies. There were a number of others in the cemetery. When these crosses begin to decay the Indians are careful to renew them, as well as the palisade with which the burial ground is surrounded, for fear that dogs or wild beasts might come and dig up the dead." (Le Beau, (1), pp. 300–315.) The writer continues, saying that in earlier days the graves of these people were "hollowed out round like pits."

This was the principal town of the Seneca, and the river which flowed near by, and to which the body of the man was carried to wash away the black and white with which it had, at first, been covered, was the Genesee. The valley of this stream, passing through the counties of Monroe and Livingston, was the home of the Seneca, and, as Squier wrote when describing the latter region, "It is unsurpassed in beauty and fertility by any territory of equal extent in the State, and abounds with mementoes of its aboriginal possessors, who yielded it reluctantly into the hands of the invading whites. Here, too, once existed a considerable number of ancient earthworks, but the levelling plough has passed over most of them; and though their sites are still remembered by the early settlers, but few are sufficiently well preserved to admit of exact survey and measurement." (Squier, (1), pp. 43–44.)

But although the embankments which once surrounded the ancient villages are rapidly disappearing, and all traces of the palisades have vanished, nevertheless the cemeteries are to be discovered, and the same writer continued (p. 45): "At various places in the county large cemeteries are found; but most, if not all, of them may be with safety referred to the Senecas. Indeed, many articles of European origin accompany the skeletons. A cemetery of large size, and, from the character of the relics found in the graves, of high antiquity, is now in part covered by the village of Lima. Pipes, pottery, etc., are discovered here in great abundance; and it is worthy of remark, they are identical with those found within the ancient enclosures."

Possibly the cemetery in which the two Algonquians were buried during the month of June, 1731, was among those examined by Squier. It is of interest to add that on the left bank of the Genesee, nearly opposite Avon, stood the town of *Canawaugus*, the birthplace of the great Chief Cornplanter, and on the site are found objects of both European and native origin. Just north of the preceding site, on the western edge of Scottsville, in Monroe County, is an old cemetery "in a gravel pit. The skeletons are drawn up, but no articles are found except a flat stone at the feet of each." (Beauchamp, (1).) This seems to refer to flexed remains as distinguished from the extended bodies discovered in the more recent graves, and may have been those "hollowed out round like pits," mentioned by Le Beau as being the older form.

VARIOUS TYPES OF BURIALS

Many burials of special interest, either by reason of their rather unusual form or the material which they revealed, have been discovered in different parts of the present State of New York. These may be attributed to the people of the Five Nations, and seem to prove that all followed various methods of disposing of their dead. The quotations are made from Beauchamp, (1), by whom the information was gathered from several sources. In Genesee County, the home of the Seneca, a cemetery encountered in a gravel bank some 6 miles southeast of Bergen "has skeletons in a sitting posture, with and without early relics." These were undoubtedly flexed, the bodies closely wrapped and then placed in pits—the early form of inhumation. Eastward from the preceding, in Seneca County, once occupied by the Cayuga, the ancient village of *Kendaia* stood about 4 miles southwest of the present settlement of Romulus. It was destroyed in 1779. One of the graves then standing was thus described: "The body was laid on the surface of the earth in a shroud or garment; then a large casement made very neat with boards something larger than the body and about four foot high put over the body as it lay

on the earth; and the outside and top were painted very curious with a great many colors. In each end of the casement was a small hole where the friends of the deceased or anybody might see the corpse when they pleased. Then over all was built a large shed of bark so as to prevent the rain from coming on the vault." The painting on this tomb may have resembled the decoration on the Oneida graves described by Van Curler nearly a century and a half earlier.

In Onondaga County, on lot 13 of the town of Lafayette, is the site of a village, with an orchard. This was a settlement of the tribe whose name is now perpetuated by the county, and was abandoned in 1779. The objects found on the site are of both native and European origin; "a burial-place has the graves in rows, and also scattered promiscuously. The bodies were inclosed in boxes of wood or bark." Evidently this cemetery and the adjoining village existed during the transition period, when some material was being derived from the whites, but before it had entirely replaced the products of the Iroquois.

When enlarging the canal in Oriskany, in Oneida County, during the year 1849, "ten or more skeletons were found in logs hollowed out by burning. They had medals and ornaments. One medal of George I was dated in 1731. The others were dated from 1731 to 1735. In two instances the heads of three or four skeletons were placed together and the bodies radiated from these. There are ear and nose ornaments of red slate and some pipes." These were probably Oneida burials, as this was within the limits of their tribal lands. In the southern part of the region occupied by the Oneida, later the home of the Tuscarora, near Richfield Springs, in Otsego County, "skeletons were found with flat stones over the face." And in the adjoining county of Chenango were many embankments on the east side of the Chenango, south of Oxford. "There were also traces of graves nearby, lined above and below with cobble stones. The upper stratum of these had fallen in." And at another place in the same county "were human bones in great abundance, the skeletons buried nearly upright."

BELIEF IN A FUTURE STATE AFTER DEATH

The Iroquois belief in a future state after death was thus related by Morgan: "The religious system of the Iroquois taught that it was a journey from earth to heaven of many days' duration. Originally, it was supposed to be a year, and the period of mourning for the departed was fixed at that term. At its expiration, it was customary for the relatives of the deceased to hold a feast; the soul of the departed having reached heaven, and a state of felicity, there was no longer any cause for mourning. The spirit of grief was exchanged

for that of rejoicing. In modern times the mourning period has been reduced to ten days, and the journey of the spirit is now believed to be performed in three. The spirit of the deceased was supposed to hover around the body for a season, before it took its final departure; and not until after the expiration of a year according to the ancient belief, and ten days according to the present, did it become permanently at rest in heaven. A beautiful custom prevailed in ancient times, of capturing a bird, and freeing it over the grave on the evening of the burial, to bear away the spirit to its heavenly rest. Their notions of the state of the soul when disembodied, are vague and diversified; but they all agree that, during the journey, it required the same nourishment as while it dwelt in the body. They, therefore, deposited beside the deceased his bow and arrows, tobacco and pipe, and necessary food for the journey. They also painted and dressed the body in its best apparel. A fire was built upon the grave at night, to enable the spirit to prepare its food." (Morgan, (1), pp. 174–175.)

Morgan also referred to the ancient custom "of addressing the dead before burial, under the belief that they could hear, although unable to answer. The near relatives and friends, or such as were disposed, approached the body in turn; and after the wail had ceased, they addressed it in a pathetic or laudatory speech. The practice has not even yet fallen entirely into disuse." It will be recalled that at the Seneca town of *Tsonnontouanne*, in 1731, the French traveler Le Beau witnessed this peculiar ceremony, which had already been described by Lahontan a generation before. ((1), II, pp. 51–52.)

Another strange custom of these people was mentioned by the same writer when describing their dances. He said: "An occasional and very singular figure was called the Dance for the Dead. It was known as the *O-ké-wa*. It was danced by the women alone. The music was entirely vocal, a select band of singers being stationed in the center of the room. To the songs for the dead, which they sang, the dancers joined in chorus. It was plaintive and mournful music. This dance was usually separate from all councils, and the only dance of the occasion. It commenced at dusk, or soon after, and continued until towards morning, when the shades of the dead, who were believed to be present and participate in the dance, were supposed to disappear. This dance was had whenever a family, which had lost a member, called for it, which was usually about a year after the event. In the spring and fall, it was often given for all the dead indiscriminately, who were believed then to revisit the earth and join in the dance." This ceremony agrees with the *Keutikaw* of their neighbors to the eastward.

Such were the customs of the people of the Five Nations.

IROQUOIAN TRIBES ADJOINING THE FIVE NATIONS

Westward from the region just described, in the northern part of the State of Ohio, bordering on the south shore of Lake Erie, are to be found many ancient inclosures, erected to surround and protect a village, thus resembling the works once so numerous in the country of the Five Nations. And it is quite evident that these were likewise erected by an Iroquoian tribe, probably the long extinct Erie who were lost to history about the middle of the seventeenth century. The works in northern Ohio, often of irregular form, and in many instances a wall extending across a neck of land, must not be confused with the remarkable squares and circles, octagons, and great walls existing in the southern part of the State.

Tribes belonging to the same linguistic stock occupied the greater part of the State of Pennsylvania, adjoining the country of the Five Nations on the north. Of these tribes the Susquehanna, known in history since the year 1608, was the most important. But their territory in later years became the home of other tribes, some of which had been forced westward by the ever-growing colonies along the coast, and many moved into the rich valley of the Susquehanna, where game was plentiful and consequently food could be easily secured. There were several important villages in the valley of the West Branch of the Susquehanna, near the present Lockhaven, Clinton County. One of these later Delaware towns stood near "Monseytown Flats," and the site of the cemetery which adjoined the village is shown in plate 10, *a*. It is said that in addition to Delaware and Shawnee, many Seneca and Cayuga are buried here. The cemetery occupied the level area on the far side of the river, as shown in the photograph.

THE CHEROKEE

Far to the southward, occupying the beautiful hills and valleys of eastern Tennessee and the adjoining parts of Georgia and Carolina, lived that great detached Iroquoian tribe, the Cherokee. Here they lived when the country was traversed by the Spaniards in 1540, and here they continued for three centuries. But although so frequently mentioned by early writers, and so often visited by traders, very little can be learned regarding their burial customs. Nevertheless it is evident they often placed the body on the exposed surface, on some high, prominent point, and then covered it with many stones gathered from the surface. Such stone mounds are quite numerous, not only on the hills once occupied by the Cherokee, but far northward. Many of the western towns of the Cherokee, often termed the Overhill Towns, were in the vicinity of Blount County, Tennessee. Many stone mounds were there on the hilltops, and these may justly be at-

tributed to the Cherokee, but all may not have covered the remains of the dead. "Leaving Chilhowee Valley and crossing the Alleghany range toward North Carolina, in a southeast course, having Little Tennessee River on my right, and occasionally in sight from the cliffs, my attention was called along the road, to stone heaps. . . . After an examination of the objects and a talk with Indians and the oldest inhabitants, I came to the conclusion that there were two kinds of these remains in this part of Tennessee, which are sometimes confounded, viz, landmarks, or stone piles, thrown together by the Indians at certain points in their journeys, and those which marked a place of burial. At a pass called Indian Grave Gap, I noticed the pile which has given its name to the mountain gorge. The monument is composed simply of round stones raised three feet above the soil, and is six feet long and three wide. As the grave had been disturbed I could make no satisfactory examination of its contents. On the opposite side of the Gap, a stone heap of another description was observed, which had been thrown together in accordance with Cherokee superstition, that assigns some good fortune to the accumulation of those piles. They, had the custom, in their journeys and war-like expeditions, at certain known points, before marked out, of casting down a stone and upon their return another. . . . Four miles from Indian Grave Gap, on the west side of my path, on a ridge destitute of vegetation, I observed twenty-five of these stone heaps which covered human remains. I examined a number of them, which were four or five feet high and eight in diameter, and shaped like a hay-cock. . . . In one I found pieces of rotten wood that had been deposited there, fragments of bones, and animal mold. The deposit had been made on the surface of the earth, covered with wood and bark, and crowned with a cone of round stones. From the center of one heap three small bells were extracted, having the letters J R engraved on them. They much resemble sleigh bells. . . . The Cherokee custom of burying the dead under heaps of stone, it is well known, was practiced as late as 1730." (Dunning, (1), pp. 376-380.)

This should probably be accepted as the characteristic custom of the early Cherokee before coming under the influence of the whites.

As already mentioned, the western towns of the Cherokee were in eastern Tennessee, and of these many were in the valley of the Little Tennessee. Here stood "Chote *the Metropolis*," the scene of many important gatherings during the eighteenth century. The great town house stood on the summit of an artificial mound, undoubtedly one of those described by Thomas, and may have been the large mound on the south side of the river, in Monroe County, designated the "McGee mound, No. 2." The diameters of the mound were 70

and 55 feet; its height when examined, 5 feet, which was probably much less than its original height. The excavation of the work revealed burials as indicated on the plan (fig. 12). Thirteen entire skeletons were found, and "at *c* lay 12 skulls on the same level, three feet below the surface of the mound, touching each other, with no other bones in connection with or immediately about them. At *b*, a little west of the center, and resting on the original surface, was a rough wall, about two feet high, built of slate stones; circular in form, inclosing a space about nine feet in diameter. The dirt inside being cleared away, twelve skulls and a large number of long and other bones were discovered. Eleven of the skulls were lying close to-

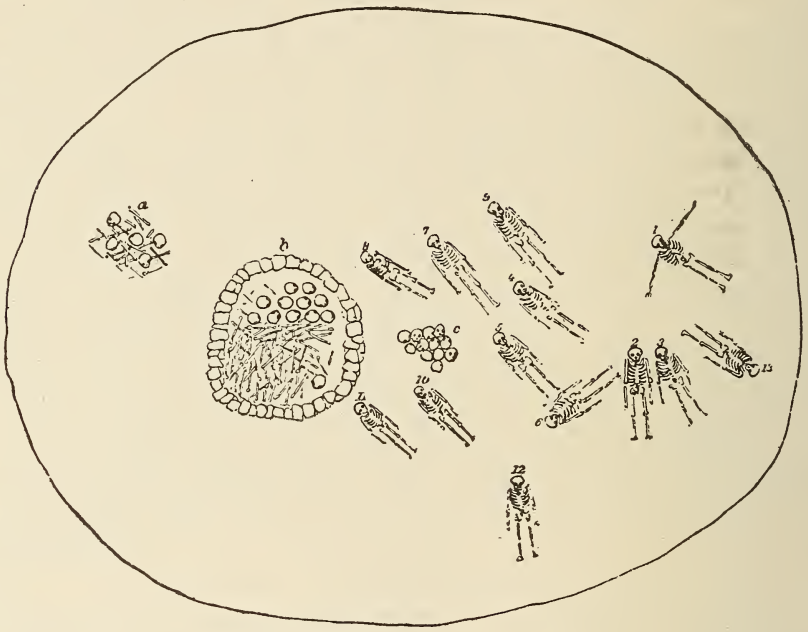

FIG. 12.—Burials in mound at Chote.

gether on one side, as shown in the figure, the other lying alone on the opposite side, but each entirely disconnected from the other parts of the skeleton to which it belonged. The other bones were much broken and mingled together in a promiscuous mass. West of the wall and near the west end of the mound were five more skulls lying together, and amid other bones, marked *a* in the figure. The bottom of the inclosure, which corresponded with the original surface of the ground, was covered for an inch or two with coals and ashes, on which the skulls and other bones rested. But neither coal nor ashes were found outside of the wall. All the skeletons and other remains outside of the wall lay a foot or more above the original surface of the ground." (Thomas, (1), pp. 378–379.)

A few objects of stone and shell and some copper beads were associated with the various burials, but apparently nothing of European origin was encountered. Other mounds of equal interest marking the positions of the same period were examined and described by the same writer.

The interior arrangement of the mound just mentioned, the mound upon which the great *rotunda* of Chote may have stood for many years, is quite suggestive of the traditional account of such a mound as related to Mooney by one of his most conservative informants. The circle of stones, with a mass of ashes and charcoal within the inclosure, seems to be explained by this tradition.

"Some say that the mounds were built by another people. Others say they were built by the ancestors of the old Aní Kĭtúhwagi for townhouse foundations, so that the townhouses would be safe when freshets came. The townhouse was always built on the level bottom lands by the river in order that the people might have smooth ground for their dances and ballplays and might be able to go down to water during the dance. When they were ready to build the mound they began by laying a circle of stones on the surface of the ground. Next they made a fire in the center of the circle and put near it the body of some prominent chief or priest who had lately died—some say seven chief men from the different clans. . . . The mound was then built up with earth, which the women brought in baskets . . ." (Mooney, (2), p. 395.)

And so the tradition continues, relating the various ceremonies which attended the construction of the work. This was not the account of the building of any particular mound, but merely the description, in general, of the construction of an elevated site upon which the town house would later be reared. Of what great interest would be a detailed account of the various rites which were enacted at the time the fire was kindled within the circle of stones; at the time the bodies of the great men were placed on the surface, later to be covered by the mound of earth. The remains were probably wrapped and decorated with the richest possessions of the living, with ornaments and objects of a perishable nature, all of which, unfortunately, soon crumbled away and so disappeared, leaving only scant traces of what had once been covered by the earth, "which the women brought in baskets."

MUSKHOGEAN GROUPS

The southern pine lands, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic and from the lowlands of the Gulf coast to the southern Alleghenies, was the home of Muskhogean tribes. The Choctaw, Natchez, and Chickasaw lived in the West. Numerous smaller tribes, later recognized as forming the Creek confederacy, occupied the valleys of the Coosa,

Tallapoosa, and Chattahoochee. The Yamasi and others were nearer the coast on the east. The Seminole of Florida were immigrants from the Lower Creek towns on the Chattahoochee and did not enter the peninsula until about the middle of the eighteenth century. Their number was increased from time to time by others from the same towns. Certain members of this linguistic group erected great circular town houses, frequently a strong framework of wood covered with clay, in which to conduct their various ceremonies. These were the largest and most imposing structures reared by any of the eastern tribes. Similar buildings were erected by the neighboring Cherokee. The majority of these village houses appear to have stood on mounds raised for the purpose. The habitations of these people were, in many instances, frames of either circular or quadrangular form, covered with thatch, or clay applied in a plastic state and allowed to dry and harden.

THE CHOCTAW

Thus the greater part of the southern country was claimed and occupied by tribes belonging to the Muskhogean group, who were first encountered by the Spanish explorers of the early sixteenth century, and who continued to occupy the region until removed during the first half of the nineteenth century. For three centuries they are known to have remained within the same limited area. On the west were the Choctaw, whose villages extended over a large part of the present State of Mississippi and eastward into Alabama. And to this tribe should undoubtedly be attributed the many burial mounds now encountered within the bounds of their ancient territory, but the remains as now found embedded in a mass of sand and earth forming the mound represent only one, the last, phase of the ceremonies which attended the death and burial of the Choctaw. These as witnessed and described by Bartram were quite distinct.

"As soon as a person is dead, they erect a scaffold eighteen or twenty feet high, in a grove adjacent to the town, where they lay the corpse lightly covered with a mantle; here it is suffered to remain, visited and protected by the friends and relations, until the flesh becomes putrid, so as easily to part from the bones; then undertakers, who made it their business, carefully strip the flesh from the bones, wash and cleanse them, and when dry and purified by the air, having provided a curiously wrought chest or coffin, fabricated of bones and splints, they place all the bones therein; it is then deposited in the bone house, a building erected for that purpose in every town. And when this house is full, a general solemn funeral takes place; the nearest kindred or friends of the deceased, on a day appointed, repair to the bone house, take up the respective coffins, and follow one another in order of seniority, the nearest relations and connexions attending their

respective corpse, and the multitude following after them, all as one family, with united voice of alternate Allelujah and lamentation, slowly proceed to the place of general interment, where they place the coffins in order, forming a pyramid; and lastly, cover all over with earth, which raises a conical hill or mount. Then they return to town in order of solemn procession, concluding the day with a festival, which is called the feast of the dead." (Bartram, (1), pp. 514–515.)

The several writers who left records of the Choctaw ceremonies varied somewhat in their accounts of the treatment of the dead, but differed only in details, not in any main questions. And to quote from Capt. Romans: "As soon as the deceased is departed, a stage is erected (as in the annexed plate is represented) [pl. 12], and the corpse is laid on it and covered with a bear skin; if he be a man of note, it is decorated, and the poles painted red with vermillion and bears oil; if a child, it is put upon stakes set across; at this stage the relations come and weep, asking many questions of the corpse, such as, why he left them? did not his wife serve him well? was he not contented with his children? had he not corn enough? did not his land produce sufficient of everything? was he afraid of his enemies? &c. and this accompanied by loud howlings; the women will be there constantly and sometimes with the corrupted air and heat of the sun faint so as to oblige the by standers to carry them home; the men also come and mourn in the same manner, but in the night or at other unseasinable times, when they are least likely to be discovered. The stage is fenced round with poles, it remains thus a certain time but not a fixed space, this is sometimes extended to three or four months, but seldom more than half that time. A certain set of venerable old Gentlemen who wear very long nails as a distinguishing badge on the thumb, fore and middle finger of each hand, constantly travel through the nation (when I was there I was told there were but five of this respectable order) that one of them may acquaint those concerned, of the expiration of this period, which is according to their own fancy; the day being come, the friends and relations assemble near the stage, a fire is made, and the respectable operator, after the body is taken down, with his nails tears the remaining flesh off the bones, and throws it with the intrails into the fire, where it is consumed; then he scrapes the bones and burns the scrapings likewise; the head being painted red with vermillion is with the rest of the bones put into a neatly made chest (which for a Chief is also made red) and deposited in the loft of a hut built for that purpose, and called bone house; each town has one of these; after remaining here one year or thereabouts, if he be a man of any note, they take the chest down, and in an assembly of relations and friends they weep once more over him, refresh the colour of the head, paint the box red, and then deposit him to lasting oblivion." (Romans, (1), pp. 89–90.)

Fortunately another description gives more details of the form of the so-called "bone houses" and the manner in which they were entered. According to Adair, the body was placed "on a high scaffold stockaded round, at the distance of twelve yards from his house opposite to the door." At the beginning of the fourth moon after burial a feast was prepared, the bone picker removed all adhering flesh from the bones, which were then placed in a small chest and carried to the "bone-house, which stands in a solitary place, apart from the town. . . . Those bone-houses are scaffolds raised on durable pitchpine forked posts, in the form of a house covered a-top, but open at both ends. I saw three of them in one of their towns, pretty near each other, the place seemed to be unfrequented; each house contained the bones of one tribe, separately. . . . I observed a ladder fixed in the ground, opposite to the middle of the broad side of each of those dormitories of the dead. . . . On the top was the carved image of a dove, with its wings stretched out, and its head inclining downward." (Adair, (1), pp. 183–184.)

The time for holding the great ceremony for the dead is mentioned in another account, written, however, during the same generation as the preceding. This was prepared by a French officer, the others having been the observations of Englishmen.

"When a *Choctaw* dies, his corpse is exposed upon a bier, made on purpose, of cypress bark, and placed on four posts fifteen feet high. When the wormes have consumed all the flesh, the whole family assembles; some one dismembers the skeleton, and plucks off all muscles, nerves and tendons that still remain, they bury them and deposit the bones in a chest, after colouring the head with vermillion. The relations weep during this ceremony, which is followed by a feast, with which those friends are treated who come to pay their compliments of condolence; after that, the remains of their late relation are brought to the common burying ground, and put in the place where his ancestor's bones were deposited. . . . In the first days of November they celebrate a great feast, which they call the feast of the dead, or of the souls; all the families then go to the burying-ground, and with tears in their eyes visit the chests which contain the relics of relations, and when they return, they give a great treat, which finishes the feast." (Bossu, (1), I, pp. 298–299.)

One narrative remains to be quoted, a manuscript treating of Louisiana soon after the coming of the French, and although the name of the author is not known and it does not bear a date, it was without doubt prepared by some French officer about the year 1730. Referring to the burial customs of the Choctaw, he wrote:

"As soon as he is dead his relatives erect a kind of cabin, the shape of a coffin, directly opposite his door six feet from the ground on six stakes, surrounded by a mud wall, and covered with bark in which they enclose this body all dressed, and which they cover with

a blanket. They place food and drink beside him, give a change of shoes, his gun, powder, and balls. . . . The body rests in this five or six months until they think that it is rotted, which makes a terrible stench in the house. After some time all the relatives assemble ceremoniously and the *femme de valleur* of the village who has for her function to strip off the flesh from the bones of the dead, comes to take off the flesh from this body, cleans the bones well, and places them in a very clean cane hamper, which they enclose in linen or cloth. They throw the flesh into a field, and this same flesh stripper, without washing her hands, comes to serve food to the assembly. This woman is very much honored in the village. After the repast they go singing and howling to carry the bones into the charnel-house of the canton which is a cabin with only one covering in which these hampers are placed in a row on poles. The same ceremony is performed over chiefs except that instead of putting the bones in hampers they are placed in chests . . . in the charnel-house of the chiefs." (Relation de La Louisianne.)

According to this unknown writer it was the belief of the Choctaw that in after life all performed the same acts and had the same requirements as in this; therefore the dead were provided with food, weapons, articles of clothing, and other necessaries.

Summarizing the several accounts presented on the preceding pages, it is possible to form a very clear conception of the burial customs of the Choctaw, which evidently varied somewhat in different parts of their country and at different times. Then again, the observers may not have been overly careful in recording details, but in the main all agree.

Soon after death a scaffold was erected near the habitation of the deceased or in a near-by grove. Resting upon the scaffold was "a kind of cabin, the shape of a coffin," which undoubtedly varied greatly in form, and in early days these appear to have been made of wattlework coated with mud and covered over with bark. The body would be placed within this box-like inclosure after first being wrapped in bearskins, a blanket, or some other material of a suitable nature. Food was deposited with the body, and likewise many objects esteemed by the living. With children a lighter frame would serve—crossed poles, as mentioned by Romans and likewise indicated in his drawing.

Thus the body would remain several months and until the flesh became greatly decayed. Then certain persons, usually men, although women at times held the office, would remove all particles of flesh from the bones, using only their fingers in performing this work. The flesh so removed, and all particles scraped from the bones, would be burned, buried in the ground, or merely scattered. Next the bones would be washed and dried; some were then painted with ver-

milion mixed with bear's oil; then all would be placed in baskets or chests and carried and deposited in the "bone house." Every town had one such structure, which evidently stood at the outskirts of the village. Adair mentioned having seen "three of them in one of their towns, pretty near each other . . . each house contained the bones of one tribe"—i. e., clan. And this proves the recognition of clan distinction or rights, even after death. These "bone houses" seem to have resembled the houses of the living, being roofed but open at both ends. They were raised above the ground on stout posts and were reached by ladders. Some were surmounted by carved figures, one being that of "a dove, with its wings stretched out, and its head inclined downward." In some instances in olden times the remains of the chief men appear to have been placed in a separate house set apart for that particular purpose.

When the remains of many had thus accumulated in the "bone houses" the friends and relatives of the dead would gather and "a general solemn funeral" would take place. On the day appointed the chests and baskets containing the bones would be removed from the "bone houses" and the friends and relatives would carry them in procession, "with united voice of alternate Allelujah and lamentation," to a chosen spot, where they were placed one upon another in the form of a pyramid, and when thus arranged all would be covered by a mass of earth, so making a conical mound, many of which now stand scattered over the region once occupied by this numerous tribe. But now the chests and baskets in which the bones were deposited have disappeared, together with all else of a perishable nature, and the bones themselves are fast crumbling to dust.

The strange Choctaw custom gradually passed, and just a century ago, in January, 1820, it was said: "Their ancient mode of exposing the dead upon scaffolds, and afterwards separating the flesh from the bones, is falling into disuse, though still practiced . . . by the six towns of the Choctaws on the Pascagoula." (Nuttall, (1), p. 235.) This refers to the Oklahannali, or "Sixtowns," the name of the most important subdivision of the tribe, who occupied the region mentioned.

Undoubtedly many mounds now standing in parts of Mississippi and Alabama owe their origin to the burial custom of the Choctaw, but, unfortunately, few have been examined with sufficient care to reveal their true form. One, however, was of the greatest interest, and the discovery of glass beads and sheet metal in contact with many of the burials proved the mound to have been erected after the coming of Europeans to the lower Mississippi Valley. This mound stood on the bank of the Mississippi, at Oak Bend Landing, in Warren County, Mississippi. It had been greatly modified and a house had been built upon it, so it had been reduced to 3 feet in height, with diameters of 50 and 60 feet. When examined, 28 burials were encountered, "mostly belonging to the bunched variety, but a few

burials of adults extended on the back, and the skeletons of several children also were present in the mound. . . . Some of the bunched burials were extensive, one having no fewer than thirty skulls (many in fragments) and a great quantity of other bones. . . The skulls of the bunched burials, as a rule, were heaped together at one side of the burial. . . . Forty-six vessels of earthenware, mostly in small fragments, were recovered from this mound." (Moore, (2), pp. 378–381.)

The great masses or deposits of human remains encountered in this mound is at once suggestive of the final disposition of the Choctaw dead, after the bodies had been removed from their earlier resting places, the flesh stripped from the bones, and the latter inclosed in baskets, finally to be arranged in heaps and covered with earth, thus forming a mound, to be added to from time to time. It is highly probable that in the older mounds all traces of the remains have disappeared, leaving no evidence of the original nature or form of the structure.

But other mounds within this region, revealing many human remains in such positions as to prove the bodies to have been buried without the removal of the flesh, may also be of Choctaw origin, but erected under far different conditions. It is interesting to learn causes which led to the erection of several of these great tombs. Two, covering the dead of two tribes, stood about 2 miles south of West Point, Clay County, Mississippi. "The Choctaws and Chickasaws had occasional conflicts, particularly after the whites appeared in the country. The former were allies of the French. The latter were under English control, and the rivalry of these kept the two kindred tribes on bad terms. They had a great battle about two miles south of West Point. There may yet be seen two mounds, about one hundred yards apart. After the fight they came to terms, and erected these mounds over their dead, and to the neighboring stream they gave the name Oka-tibbe-ha, or Fighting Water." (Claiborne, (1), pp. 484–485.)

In the southwestern part of Alabama, the heart of the old Choctaw country, are numerous mounds, many of which when examined revealed more clearly than did those already mentioned the peculiarities of the Choctaw burial customs. Among these were two which stood not far from the left bank of the Tombigbee, near Jackson, Clarke County, Alabama. The more northerly of these was about 43 feet in diameter and 2 feet in height. "Human remains were found in eleven places, consisting of lone skulls, small bunches, and fragments of bone, all in the last stage of decay." (Moore, (3), pp. 258–259.) A number of small stone implements were associated with some of the burials, and a single object of copper was found near where a skeleton may have rested, all traces of which had disappeared.

A mound only a short distance northward from the preceding, examined and described at the same time (op. cit., pp. 260–262), proved even more interesting. It was somewhat larger, being 48 feet in diameter and 5 feet in height. In it "human remains were met with in forty-five places, the deepest being 3½ feet from the surface. All bones were in the last stage of decay and crumbling to bits." Of the burials, 23 were described as "isolated skulls," others were skulls with various bones, or bones without the skulls. Objects of stone and copper and vessels of earthenware were encountered during the exploration of the burial place. It is quite evident the smaller, more fragile bones had disappeared through decay.

A small group of Choctaw lived, until a few years ago, near Bayou Lacomb, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana, on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain. They were few in number, and the oldest person among them was probably little more than 50 years of age, and unfortunately they were unable to describe the old tribal burial customs. But although they knew little of the manner in which the bodies of their ancestors were treated, they were able to recall the manner in which the living mourned for the dead. According to the best informed, the period of mourning varied as did the age of the deceased. An older person, as the mother or father, was thus honored for six months or even a year, but for a child or young person the period did not exceed three months. During this time the women cut their hair and often gathered near the grave and "cried." When it was desired to cease mourning, the person stuck into the ground, so as to form a triangle, three pieces of wood, several feet in height. The three sticks were drawn together at the top and tied with a piece of bright-colored cloth or some other material. These sticks, so tied and decorated, stood near the entrance of the habitation and indicated that the occupants desired to cease mourning. The three days following the mourners cried or wailed three times each day—at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset. And while thus expressing their grief they would be wrapped in blankets which covered their heads, and they sat or knelt upon the ground. During these three days their friends gathered and soon began dancing and feasting. At the expiration of the three days all ceased weeping and joined in the festivities, which continued another day. It is quite interesting to compare certain details of this brief description with the graphic drawing made by Capt. Romans, in which the manner of mourning as followed by the women is so clearly shown, sitting near the grave, wrapped in blankets which covered their heads.

According to the beliefs of the same Choctaw, "persons dying by violent deaths involving loss of blood, even a few drops, do not pass to the home of Aba (heaven), regardless of the character of their earthly lives, or their rank in the tribe. At night spirits are wont to travel along the trails and roads used by living men, and thus avoid

meeting the bad spirit, Nanapolo, whose wanderings are confined to the dark and unfrequented paths of the forest. The spirits of men like the country traversed and occupied by living men, and that is why *Shilup*, the ghost, is often seen moving among the trees or following persons after sunset. The spirits of all persons not meeting violent deaths, with the exception of those only who murder or attempt to murder their fellow Choctaw, go to the home of Aba. There it is always spring, with sunshine and flowers; there are birds and fruit and game in abundance. There the Choctaw ever sing and dance, and trouble is not known. All who enter this paradise become equally virtuous without regard to their state while on earth. The unhappy spirits who fail to reach the home of Aba remain on earth in the vicinity of the places where they have died. But Nanapolo, the bad spirit, is never able to gain possession of the spirit of a Choctaw." (Bushnell, (5), pp. 27–29.)

THE NATCHEZ

When referring to the burial customs of the Natchez, that most interesting of the many tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley, the early writers by whom the tribe was visited seldom alluded to the rites which attended the final disposition of the remains of the less important members of the nation, but devoted themselves to describing the varied and sanguinary ceremonies enacted at the time of the death and burial of a Sun. Swanton has already brought together the various accounts and descriptions of these most unusual acts, and consequently they need not be repeated at the present time. (Swanton, (1), pp. 138–157.) Nevertheless the first two will be quoted to serve as means of comparing the remarkable ceremonies followed by members of this tribe with the manners and customs of their neighbors. Of the two accounts given below, Swanton said: "The first was given to Gravier by the French youth whom Iberville left in 1700 to learn the Natchez language, and the second details the obsequies of a grand chieftainess of which the author Pénicaut claims to have been a witness in 1704."

"The Frenchman whom M. d'Iberville left there to learn the language told me that on the death of the last chief they put to death two women, three men, and three children. They strangled them with a bowstring, and this cruel ceremony was performed with great pomp, these wretched victims deeming themselves greatly honored to accompany their chief by a violent death. There were only seven for the great chief who died some months before. His wife, better advised than the others, did not wish to follow him, and began to weep when they wished to oblige her to accompany her husband. Mr. de Montigni, who has left this country to go to Siam, being informed of what they were accustomed to do, made them promise not to put anyone to death. As a pledge of their

word they gave him a little female slave, whom they had resolved to put to death but for his prohibition; but to keep their cursed custom without it being perceived, the woman chief, whom they call Ouachil Tamail, Sun women (who is always the sister and not the wife of the great chief), persuaded him to retire to a distant village so as not to have his head split with the noise they would make in a ceremony where all were to take part. Mr. de Montigni, not suspecting anything, believed her and withdrew, but in his absence they put to death those whom they believed to be necessary to go to cook and wait on the chief in the other world." (Gravier, (1), pp. 140–143.)

The second account given by Swanton, that claimed to have been witnessed by Pénicaut in 1704, follows:

"It happened in our time that the grand chieftainess Noble being dead, we saw the burial ceremony, which is indeed the most horrible tragedy that one can witness. It made myself and all my comrades tremble with horror. She [i. e. the great female Sun] was a chieftainess Noble in her own right. Her husband, who was not at all noble, was immediately strangled by the first boy she had had by him, to accompany his wife into the great village, where they believe that they go. After such a fine beginning they put outside of the cabin of the great chief all that was there. As is customary they made a kind of triumphal car in the cabin, where they placed the dead woman and her strangled husband. A moment later, they brought 12 little dead infants, who had been strangled, and whom they placed around the dead woman. It was their fathers and mothers who brought them there, by order of the eldest of the dead chieftainess's children, and who then, as grand chief, commands to have die to honor the funeral rites of his mother as many persons as he wishes. They had 14 scaffolds prepared in the public square, which they ornamented with branches of trees and with cloth covered with pictures. On each scaffold a man placed himself who was going to accompany the defunct to the other world. They stood on these scaffolds surrounded by their nearest relatives; they are sometimes warned more than ten years before their death. It is an honor for their relatives. Ordinarily they have offered to die during the life of the defunct, for the good will which they bear him, and they themselves have tied the cord with which they are strangled. They are dressed in their finest clothing, with a large shell in the right hand, and the nearest relative—for example, if it is the father of a family who dies, his oldest son—walks behind him bearing the cord under his arm and a war club in his right hand. He makes a frightful cry which they call the death cry. Then all these unfortunate victims every quarter of an hour descend from their scaffolds and unite in the middle of the square, where they dance together before the temple and before the house of the dead female chief, when they remount their scaffolds to resume their

places. They are very much respected that day, and each one has five servants. Their faces are all reddened with vermilion. For my part I have thought that it was in order not to let the fear that they might have of their approaching death be apparent.

"At the end of four days they begin the ceremony of 'the march of the bodies.'

"The fathers and the mothers who had brought their dead children took them and held them in their hands; the oldest of these children did not appear to be more than three years old. They placed them to right and left of the entrance to the cabin of the dead female chief. The 14 victims destined to be strangled repaired there in the same order; the chiefs and the relatives of the dead woman appeared there all in mourning—that is to say, with their hair cut. They then made such frightful cries that we thought the devils were come out of the hells to come and howl in this place. The unfortunate persons destined to death danced and the relatives of the dead woman sang. When the march of this fine convoy was begun by two and two, the dead woman was brought out of her cabin on the shoulders of four savages as on a stretcher. As soon as she had been taken out, they set fire to the cabin (it is the usual custom with the Nobles). The fathers, who carried their dead children in their hands, marched in front, four paces distant from each other, and after marching 10 steps they let them fall to the ground. Those who bore the dead woman passed over and went around these children three times. The fathers then gathered them up and reassumed their places in the ranks, and at every 10 paces they recommenced this frightful ceremony, until they reached the temple, so that these children were in pieces when this fine convoy arrived. While they interred the female Noble in the temple the victims were stripped before the door, and, after they had been made to sit on the ground, a savage seated himself on the knees of each of them while another behind held his arms. They then passed a cord around his neck and put the skin of a deer over his head; they made each of these poor unfortunates swallow three pills of tobacco, and gave him a draught of water to drink, in order that the pills should dissolve in his stomach, which made him lose consciousness; then the relatives of the deceased ranged themselves at their sides, to right and left, and each, as he sang, drew an end of a cord, which was passed around the neck with a running knot, until they were dead, after which they buried them. If a chief dies and still has his nurse, she must die with him. This nation still follows this execrable custom, in spite of all that has been done to turn them from it. Our missionaries have never been able to succeed in that; all that they were able to do was to succeed sometimes in baptizing these poor little infants before their fathers strangled them. Besides, this nation is too much infatuated with

its religion, which flatters the evil inclinations of their corrupt nature, for anyone ever to have made any progress in conversion and to have established Christianity there." (Margry, (1), V, pp. 452–455.)

This barbaric ceremony was unknown among any other eastern tribe, and while so much pomp attended the burial of a Noble, the less important were conducted to their last resting places with simple rites. And mourning among the Natchez, so Charlevoix wrote, consisted of "cutting off their hair, and in not painting their faces, and in absenting themselves from public assemblies," but, so he continued, "I do not know how long it lasts. I know not, either, whether they celebrate the grand festival of the dead. . . . It seems as if in this nation, where everybody is in some sort the slave of those who command, all the honors of the dead are for those who do so, especially for the great chief and the woman chief."

The Temple of the Natchez, which in many respects resembled the temple-tomb of the Algonquian tribes of Virginia and Carolina, was described by all the early historians of lower Mississippi Valley. These accounts have been grouped by Swanton ((1), pp. 158–167), and consequently only the earliest will be quoted at the present time: "There are only four cabins in [the village] in which is the temple. It is very spacious and covered with cane mats, which they renew every year with great ceremonies, which it would be prolix to insert here. They begin by a four days' fast with emetics till blood comes. There is no window, no chimney, in this temple, and it is only by the light of the fire that you can see a little, and then the door, which is very low and narrow, must be open. I imagine that the obscurity of the place inspires them with respect. The old man who is the keeper keeps the fire up and takes great care not to let it go out. It is in the center of the temple in front of a sort of mausoleum after the Indian fashion. There are three about 8 or 9 feet long, 6 feet broad, and 9 or 10 feet high. They are supported by four large posts covered with cane mats in quite neat columns and surmounted by a platform of plaited canes. This would be rather graceful were it not all blackened with smoke and covered with soot. There is a large mat which serves as a curtain to cover a large table, covered with five or six cane mats on which stands a large basket that it is unlawful to open, as the spirit of each nation of those quarters reposes there, they say, with that of the Natchez. . . . There are others in the other two mausoleums, where the bones of their chiefs are, they say, which they revere as divinities. All that I saw somewhat rare was a piece of rock crystal, which I found in a little basket. I saw a number of little earthen pots, platters, and cups, and little cane baskets, all well made. This is to serve up food to the spirits of the deceased chiefs, and the temple keeper finds his profit in it." (Gravier, (1), pp. 138–141.)

Du Pratz a generation later gave a more detailed description and told how the temple stood on "a mound of earth brought thither which rises about 8 feet above the natural level of the ground on the bank of a little river." Thus an artificial mound of earth had been reared to serve as a site for the temple. Du Pratz's drawing of the temple is reproduced in figure 13. (Du Pratz, (1), III, pp. 15–20.)

The burial customs of the northern and southern tribes differed in many ways, but the habit of removing the bones of the dead from an old settlement to a new site, so vividly described by Heckewelder as being followed by the Nanticoke during the first half of the eighteenth century, finds a parallel in the far south. To quote from Père Charlevoix, who wrote under date of January 26, 1722, there stood, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, immediately below the English reach, a short distance below New Orleans, "not

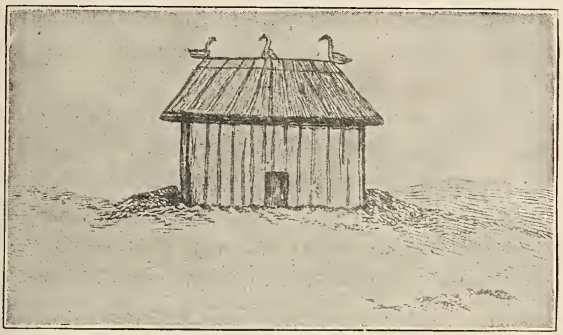

FIG. 13.—The Natchez Temple, after Du Pratz.

long since, a village of the *Chouachas*, the ruins of which, I have visited. Nothing remains entire but the cabbin of the chief, which bears a great resemblance to one of our peasants houses in France, with this difference only, that it has no windows. It is built of the branches of trees, the voids of which are filled up with the leaves of the trees called lataniers [palmetto], and its roof is of the same materials." The "village is at present on the other side of the river, half a league lower, and the Indians have transported thither even the bones of their dead." (Charlevoix, (1), II, p. 292.)

THE CHICKASAW

The Chickasaw lived in the hilly country north of the Choctaw, and although of the same stock they were ever enemies. Many of their customs differed and instead of the elaborate burial ceremonies of the Choctaw, "They bury their dead almost the moment the breath is out of the body, in the very spot under the couch on which the deceased died, and the nearest relations mourn over it with

woeful lamentations; the women are very vociferous in it, but the men do it in silence, taking great care not to be seen any more than heard at this business; the mourning continues about a year, which they know by counting the moons, they are every morning and evening, and at first throughout the day at different times, employed in the exercise of this last duty." (Romans, (1), p. 71.)

More details of the ceremony were recorded by Adair, who was well acquainted with the manners and customs of the Chickasaw, having traded among them for many years. According to his narrative: "When any of their people die at home, they wash and anoint the corpse, and soon bring it out of doors . . . after a short eulogium, and space of mourning, they carry him three times around the house in which he is to be interred, stoping half a minute each time." The excavation was described as being clean inside, and after the body had been deposited within it was covered with logs, then several layers of cypress bark, and made level with the floor of the house. Beds were often made above the graves. (Adair, (1), p. 181.)

It is of great interest to be able to trace this unusual custom of interring the dead beneath the floor of the house back to prehistoric times, and that within the region occupied by the same tribe. In Wilson County, Tennessee, was discovered the site of an ancient village. Surrounded by an inclosure were several mounds and about 100 earth circles with diameters varying from 10 to 50 feet. Each such ring represented the ruined site of a separate house of a form known to have been erected by certain tribes in the lower Mississippi Valley. Nineteen of the so-called hut rings were examined and bits of pottery, stone implements, some broken and others entire, and other traces of Indian occupancy were discovered. "On removing the hardened and burnt earth forming the floors of the houses, and at a depth of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet, small stone graves were found in 11 of the 19 circles that were carefully examined. These graves were in every case those of children, and were from 1 ft. to 4 ft. in length. These children's graves were found at one side of the centre of the house, and generally, it was noticed, that a fire had been built over the spot." (Putnam, (1), pp. 339–360.) Whether all the burials encountered on this site were really those of children may be questioned, but nevertheless the custom of burying beneath the floors of the houses conforms with the known habit of the Chickasaw, as already told. Undoubtedly many other similar discoveries may be made at some future time.

Adair also described the customs of the Chickasaw when any of their number died away from home. "When any of them die at a distance, if the company be not driven and pursued by an enemy,

they place the corpse on a scaffold, covered with notched logs to secure it from being torn by wild beasts, or fowls of prey; when they imagine the flesh is consumed, and the bones are thoroughly dried, they return to the place, bring them home, and inter them in a very solemn manner. . . . The Indians use the same ceremonies to the bones of their dead, as if they were covered with their former skin, flesh, and ligaments. It is but a few days since I saw some return with the bones of nine of their people, who had been two months before killed by the enemy. They were tied in white deerskins, separately; and when carried by the door of one of the houses of their family, they were laid down opposite to it, till the female relations convened, with flowing hair, and wept over them about half an hour. Then they carried them home to their friendly magazines of mortality, wept over them again, and then buried them with the usual solemnities; putting their valuable effects, and as I am informed, other convenient things in along with them." (Adair, (1), pp. 180–181.)

When the Spanish expedition led by De Soto crossed the southern country during the years 1539–1541, the Chickasaw were evidently living in the vicinity of the present Union and Pontotoc Counties, in the northern part of the State of Mississippi, a region they continued to occupy for many generations. Traces of an inclosure surrounding a group of mounds is standing in the southern part of Union County, and may not be very ancient, as objects of European origin have been recovered from several of the mounds. Small pits were discovered beneath certain mounds of the group, as in "Mound 8 . . . Six feet north of the center, in the original soil, was a hole 18 inches across and 14 inches deep, the sides burnt hard as brick, filled with charcoal and dirt. Seven feet northeast of the center was a similar but smaller hole. The gray layer at the bottom was undisturbed over both these spots, showing that the mound was built after this part of the field had been occupied." (Thomas, (1), pp. 276–277.)

This makes it quite evident the mounds were erected on an old village site. A trench was cut through a section of another mound of the group, that designated as No. 1, and was carried "down to underlying red clay which was so hard as to be difficult to loosen with a pick. In this clay two holes had been dug 6 feet apart, one north of the other. Each was a foot across and 3 feet deep, rounded at the bottom, and filled with a shiny gray ooze. In the one to the south was found a piece of skull bone, in the northern one nothing but the soft mud or slime. Fourteen feet from the center were two similar holes, one 14 inches across and 3 feet deep, the other 3 feet south of it of the same depth and 18 inches across. . . . No traces of bones were found in these." (Op. cit., p. 271.)

As these mounds were erected on the site of a more ancient settlement, it is possible the pits were graves made by the early Chickasaw beneath the floors of their dwellings, and during the many years that have intervened since the habitations were occupied the bones have disappeared, with only a fragment of a skull remaining.

The Chakchiuma, related linguistically to the Chickasaw and Choctaw, lived on the upper Yazoo River, and lower down the stream, near its junction with the Mississippi, were the villages of the Tunican group, including the Koroa, Yazoo, and the Tunica proper. The burial customs of the people then living in the valley of the Yazoo were undoubtedly quite similar, although the inhabitants of the scattered towns belonged to different stocks. And when referring to "the Yazoux and the Chacchoumas" (i. e., the Yazoo and Chakchiuma), Dumont wrote: "When their chief is dead they go into the woods to bury him, just as in the case of an ordinary man, some on one side, some on the other, the relatives of the deceased accompanying the convoy and bearing in their hands a pine stick lighted like a torch. When the body is in the trench all those taking part throw their lighted torches into it in the same way, after which it is covered with earth. That is what the entire ceremony is confined to. It is true that it continues more than six months longer for the relations of the dead and for his friends, who during all that time go almost every night to utter howls over the grave, and on account of the difference in their cries and voices form a regular charivari. These ceremonies, as I have said, are common to the chiefs and people. The only difference which marks the first is that at their head is planted a post on which is cut with the point of a knife the figures they have worn painted on their body during life." (Dumont, (1), I, pp. 246–247.)

The Tunica, although forming a distinct linguistic family from the Muskhogean tribes with whom they were so closely associated, and practically surrounded, were few in number, but they may, at some earlier time, have been a more numerous and powerful people.

To quote Swanton: "Although affected by Christian beliefs, the mortuary ceremonies observed by the Tunica until recent times were evidently directly descended from older customs.

"The only specific reference by an early writer to the mortuary customs of this tribe is by La Source, who says: 'They inter their dead, and the relations come to weep with those of the house, and in the evening they weep over the grave of the departed and make a fire there and pass their hands over it, crying out and weeping.' (Shea, (1), p. 81.)

"Accounts of the modern ceremonies were obtained from different sources by Doctor Gatschet and the writer, and the following is an attempt to weave them together:

"The body of a dead person was kept for one day and then interred, many persons making speeches on the occasion. The corpse was laid with its head toward the east, which the Tunica chief told the writer was simply 'their way of burying,' the reason having evidently been forgotten. For four successive nights thereafter a fire was lighted at the head, as Gatschet's informant explained, to keep away the bad spirits who sat in that direction for the same period. During that time the people watched the grave and fasted, and on the morning of the day after the fourth, just before daybreak, all, both old and young, went to plunge four times in water. By that time the soul was satisfied and had 'gone up.' Then all reassembled in the house from which the burial had taken place and breakfasted together, eating white dumplings and the fresh meat of large geese. Then the principal speaker delivered an address, after which he made all put on mourning, he himself and the other near relations wearing it for six months and the father and mother of the deceased for one year. A mourning garb is thought not to have been known before the people 'learned how to pray;' i. e. before Christianity was introduced, which seems probable. During their days of mourning people did not eat or drink until noon.

"Cemeteries were placed on hills in the open country, and because spirits were believed to dwell around them the protection of each cemetery was intrusted to one man. Each new year the guardian said to all those who had ripe corn: 'Ripe corn must be thrown on the cemetery! Ripe beans must be thrown on the cemetery!' Then all went to work to collect their corn and beans and place them there. This took three or sometimes four days, and at the same time, evidently in later years, they cut the cemetery grass. These last statements are according to Gatschet's informant. The Tunica chief only stated that a second fast, called the 'corn fast' (*fête du blé*), took place for the benefit of the dead at the time when little corn had just become good to eat. The ears were roasted close to the fire and then placed in a saucer at the head of the grave. Before this time a 'sign,' which in later times was probably a cross, had been made by a particular person who always performed this office and placed at the grave. The offering of corn was also made for four days. On the last of these the people fasted until noon and assembled at the house of the cemetery guardian. Then they plunged into water four times, also for the dead, and after a speech from the guardian, he gave them all a dinner by way of payment. In later times this ended the fast, but anciently the dinner was followed by a dance." (Swanton, (1), pp. 324–326.)

Other Muskhogean tribes may now be mentioned.

THE CREEKS

The Creeks had customs resembling those of the Chickasaw, and, in some instances, deposited the remains of their dead beneath the floors of their habitations. To quote from Bartram:

"The Muscogulges bury their deceased in the earth. They dig a four-square deep pit under the cabin or couch which the deceased lay on, in his house, lining the grave with Cypress bark, where they place the corpse in a sitting posture, as if it were alive; depositing with him his gun, tomahawk, pipe, and such other matters as he had the greatest value for in his life time." (Bartram, (1), pp. 513–514.)

And when Romans referred to the same people, he said: "The dead are buried in a sitting posture, and they are furnished with a musket, powder and ball, a hatchet, pipe, some tobacco, a club, a bow and arrows, a looking glass, some vermillion and other trinkets, in order to come well provided in the land of spirits." (Romans, (1), pp. 98–99.)

Another traveler a few years later, in 1791, left a brief account of the customs of the Creeks, and said in part: "Upon the Decease of an Adult of either Sex, the Friends and Relations of the Decedent religiously collect whatever he or she held most dear in Life, and inter them close by and sometimes in their Owner's Grave. This pious Tribute to their Dead includes Horses, Cows, Hogs, and Dogs, as well as Things inanimate." (Pope, (1), p. 58.) And the same writer mentioned the Creek's belief in ghosts, which tends to recall the somewhat similar belief prevalent among the Choctaw. He told how "The *Creeks* in approaching the Frontiers of *Georgia*, always encamp on the right Hand side of the Road or Path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the *Larvæ* or Ghosts of their departed Heroes who have either unfortunately lost their Scalps, or remain unburied. The Ghost of any Hero in either Predicament, is refused Admittance into the Mansions of Bliss, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksom Abode, in the dreary Caverns of the Wilderness; until the Indignity shall be retaliated on the Enemy, by some of his surviving Friends." (Pp. 63–64.)

About the time of the preparation of the preceding account an even more interesting record was made by an officer in the army, Maj. C. Swan, who visited the Creek nation during the autumn of 1790, and returned to Philadelphia March 13, 1791. After referring to various customs of the people with whom he had been he said:

"When one of a family dies, the relations bury the corpse about four feet deep, in a round hole dug directly under the cabin or rock whereon he died. The corpse is placed in the hole in a sitting posture, with a blanket wrapped about it, and the legs bent under it and tied together. If a warrior, he is painted, and his pipe, ornaments,

and warlike appendages are deposited with him. The grave is then covered with canes tied to a hoop round the top of the hole, and then a firm layer of clay, sufficient to support the weight of a man. The relations howl loudly and mourn publicly for four days. If the deceased has been a man of eminent character, the family immediately remove from the house in which he is buried, and erect a new one, with a belief that where the bones of their dead are deposited, the place is always attended by 'goblins and chimeras dire.' They believe there is a state of future existence, and that according to the tenor of their lives they shall hereafter be rewarded with the privilege of hunting in the realms of the Master of Breath, or of becoming Seminolies [i. e. wanderers] in the regions of the old sorcerer. But as it is very difficult for them to draw any parallel between virtue and vice, they are most of them flattered with the expectation of hereafter becoming great war-leaders, or swift hunters in the beloved country of the great Hesákádum Essé." (Schoolcraft, (2), V, p. 270.)

Several mounds of the greatest interest have been discovered in the territory which was formerly the home of Muskhogean tribes, and from their nature it is evident they were constructed long after the coming of the Spaniards. One stood about one-quarter mile from the left bank of Alabama River, 6 miles below the city of Montgomery, in Montgomery County, Alabama. This was in the midst of the Creek towns. The mound was 9 feet in height, with a diameter of 67 feet. Objects of iron, of glass, and other materials, all derived from the whites, were encountered throughout the work, from the summit to the base, which proves the entire work to have been erected after the advent of Europeans. And, in addition to these objects of foreign make, were associated others of stone, shell, and earthenware of aboriginal workmanship. This was one of the most remarkable of the many mounds examined by Moore throughout the South. Two others far south of the preceding, also discovered by Moore, may be mentioned. Of these the first was situated about 200 yards north of Alligator Harbor and 1 mile from its lower end, in Franklin County, Florida. When examined, 79 burials were discovered, among them the flexed; the bunched, which sometimes included several skulls together; and bones scattered. All the burials were in the southeastern half of the mound, and in the same section were encountered 62 pottery vessels and various objects of stone and shell. The lack of European objects in this mound makes it appear to be quite ancient, but in the adjoining county of Calhoun, on the northern bank of Chipola cut-off, stood a mound which had undoubtedly been reared at a much later time, as glass beads and pieces of brass, found at the base of the work, indicate the entire tumulus

to have been reared since the first part of the sixteenth century. Forty-two burials were encountered scattered throughout the mound, and these included flexed skeletons, bundles of bones, and separate skulls, the latter not in contact with other bones. Now, it is more than probable that both mounds just mentioned were erected by the same people, one before, the other after, contact with the whites. The forms of burials in both were similar, characteristic of the region, and resembling those revealed in mounds farther south on the peninsula. The mounds in Franklin and Calhoun Counties were probably erected by a Muskhogean tribe, whose identity has not been determined, who may have had customs resembling those of the Choctaw. The bundles of bones had probably been gathered from the "bonehouses" after all flesh had disappeared, then wrapped or put in baskets, and so deposited and covered with a mass of earth, thus forming the mound. In some instances the bones were put in large earthenware vessels which, by reason of their imperishable nature, are now found containing the remains, but there is no reason to attribute any special meaning to these so-called urn burials. This merely proves that large vessels were sometimes used to hold the remains when prepared for the last disposition, rather than baskets, bags, skins, or some such material, which soon decayed and disappeared, allowing the bones to become as now found—matted and massed in the earth, broken and compressed by the weight of the superstratum. And it is highly probable that as these burial mounds are now found they may represent not more than one-half of their original height. The baskets in which the bones had been buried crumbled away, the remains sunk and became more compact, and gradually the entire accumulation of bones and earth, baskets, mats, and vessels became a comparatively solid but confused mass. All materials of a perishable nature soon disappeared, allowing some of the firmer bones to remain, together with vessels of earthenware and objects of stone, now to be discovered embedded in the sand or clay with which they were originally covered.

The islands lying off the coast of Georgia appear to have been the home of a Muskhogean tribe, the Guale, at the time this part of the country was first visited by the Spaniards during the early part of the sixteenth century. And the many burial mounds standing on the islands and near-by mainland may have been erected by these people. Many of the mounds have been examined and have revealed several forms, or rather methods, of disposing of the dead. One such burial place, a mound of exceptional interest, was near the bank of the Sapelo River, about 2 miles from Sutherland Bluff, in the present McIntosh County, Georgia. When examined it was about 6 feet in height and 46 feet in diameter. It "was composed of rich, loamy,

brown sand with many local layers of oyster shells. The usual charcoal and fireplaces were present. A black layer from three inches to one foot in thickness, made up of sand mingled with charcoal in minute particles, ran through the mound at about the level of the surrounding territory." Human remains were discovered at 36 points, and "in no one mound investigated by us has there been so well exemplified the various forms of aboriginal disposition of the dead—the burial in anatomical order; the burial of portions of the skeletons; the interment of great masses of human bones; the pyre; the loose deposit of incinerated remains; the burial of cinerary urns." (Moore, (1), p. 45.)

Probably few mounds yet found have revealed such a great variety of forms of burial as did this low, spreading work on the bank of the Sapelo. And this discovery also proves conclusively that one tribe followed at the same time many methods of disposing of their dead.

A short distance northward from the preceding, on Ossabaw Island, in Bryan County, Georgia, was a similar low, spreading mound. And when excavated it likewise proved to be of great interest. "In no part of the mound, outside of the calcined remains, among which were parts of adult skeletons seemingly belonging to males, were skeletal remains of adult males—the skeletons being exclusively those of women, adolescents, children, and infants—and that in one portion of the mound burial vases exclusively contained skeletons of infants, unaffected by fire, while in other portions cinerary urns were present filled with fragments of calcined human skeletons. Again we see pockets of calcined human remains and skeletal remains of women and children unaffected by fire and not included in vessels of earthenware." (Moore, (1), p. 89.)

The most remarkable feature of this discovery was the lack of male skeletons in the body of the mound; in other words, the exclusion of males from this particular tomb. This fact tends to verify to some extent a statement made by Oviedo, who observed the burial customs of the inhabitants of this coast early in the sixteenth century. He mentioned the custom then followed by the people of placing the remains of the children and young persons apart from the others, and continued by saying the principal men of the tribe were buried in a distinct group. He failed to mention the disposition of the remains of the women, but they may have been placed with those of the children and younger members of the tribe. (Oviedo, (1), III, p. 630.) Thus the discovery and careful examination of this low mound on Ossabaw Island has tended to verify an observation made some four centuries ago.

It is possible within this same region to trace another custom from historic back into prehistoric times, and whenever this may be done it

tends to make more clear the customs of the inhabitants of ancient America at the time of the coming of Europeans.

About the year 1730 a small group of Creeks, together with a few Yamasee, all belonging to the same linguistic family, settled on the south or right bank of the Savannah, at a place now known as Yamacraw Bluff, within the limits of the present city of Savannah. Their chief was the famous Tomochichi, who, together with others, later accompanied Gov. Oglethrope to England. While there, during the year 1734, a member of the party died, and "previous to interment in the church-yard of St. John's, Westminster, the body was sewn up in a blanket and bound between two boards." (Jones, C. C., (1), pp. 185–187.) It was placed in a grave together with many ornaments and other objects. Moore drew attention to the occurrence when describing burials encountered by him in a mound on Creighton Island, McIntosh County, Georgia, only a short distance south of Savannah, and consequently not far from the former village on Yamacraw Bluff. He remarked on the discovery of traces of wood associated with the skeletal remains, and said in part: "In seven cases layers of decayed wood or bark, occasionally showing marks of fire, lay above human remains, and in two cases, above and below." (Moore, (1), p. 30.) There is little doubt of these mound burials having been similar, in all essential details, to that of the Indian who died in London in 1734. And although it is not possible to determine the exact age of the mound on Creighton Island, nevertheless it is reasonable to attribute it to a period after the coming of the Spaniards to the coast of Florida. It is interesting to know that a small mound which stood in Chatham County, Georgia, not far from the preceding, when examined revealed a human skeleton resting upon the original surface, and associated with it was a sword of European origin.

THE SEMINOLE

The Seminole, the immigrants from the Creek towns who settled in Florida during the eighteenth century, were little influenced by the whites until very recent years. Living as they did in the midst of the great swamps of the southern part of the peninsula, with no roads penetrating the tangle of semitropical vegetation, and with even the location of their settlements unknown to the occupants of other parts of Florida, they were never visited, and seldom seen except when they chose to make journeys to the traders near the coast. Consequently the burial customs of the people, as witnessed 40 years ago, were probably little different from those practiced during the past generations. The account written at that time referred particularly to the death and burial of a child:

"The preparation for burial began as soon as death had taken place. The body was clad in a new shirt, a new handkerchief being

tied about the neck and another around the head. A spot of red paint was placed on the right cheek and one of black upon the left. The body was laid face upwards. In the left hand, together with a bit of burnt wood, a small bow about twelve inches in length was placed, the hand lying naturally over the middle of the body. Across the bow, held by the right hand, was laid an arrow, slightly drawn. During these preparations, the women loudly lamented, with hair disheveled. At the same time some men had selected a place for the burial and made the grave in this manner: Two palmetto logs of proper size were split. The four pieces were firmly placed on edge, in the shape of an oblong box, lengthwise east and

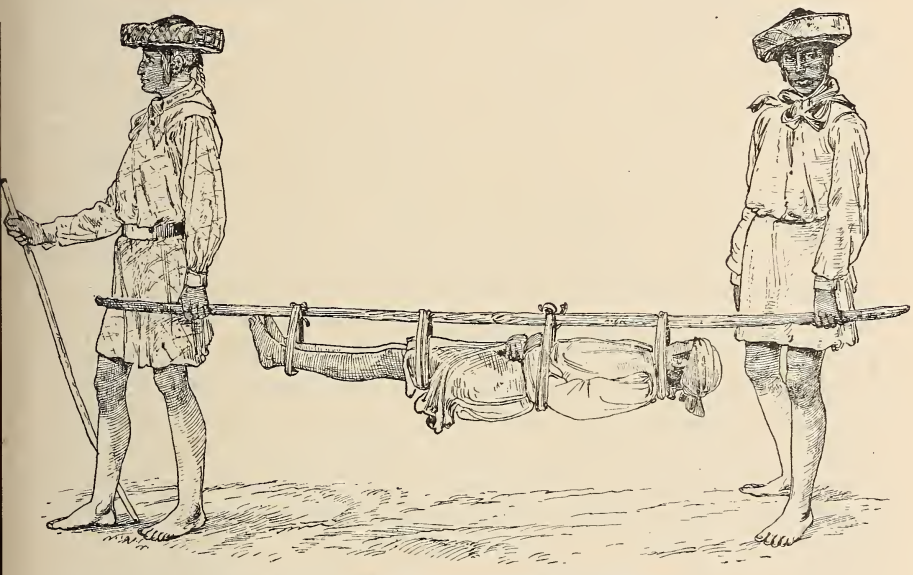

FIG. 14.—Carrying the dead, among the Seminole.

west. In this box a floor was laid, and over this a blanket was spread. Two men, at next sunrise, carried the body from the camp to the place of burial, the body being suspended at feet, thighs, back, and neck from a long pole [fig. 14]. The relatives followed. In the grave, which is called 'To-hŏp-ki'—a word used by the Seminole for 'stockade,' or 'fort,' also, the body was then laid the feet to the east. A blanket was then carefully wrapped around the body. Over this palmetto leaves were placed and the grave was tightly closed by a covering of logs. Above the box a roof was then built. Sticks in the form of an X, were driven into the earth across the overlying logs; these were connected by a pole, and this structure was covered thickly with palmetto leaves. [Pl. 13, *a*.]

"The bearers of the body then made a large fire at each end of the 'To-hŏp-ki.' With this the ceremony at the grave ended and all

returned to the camp. During that day and for three days thereafter the relatives remained at home and refrained from work. The fires at the grave were renewed at sunset by those who had made them, and after nightfall torches were waved in the air, that 'the bad birds of the night' might not get at the Indian lying in his grave. The renewal of the fires and waving of the torches were repeated three days. The fourth day the fires were allowed to die out. Throughout the camp 'medicine' had been sprinkled at sunset for three days. On the fourth day it was said that the Indian 'had gone.' From that time the mourning ceased and the members of the family returned to their usual occupations.

"The interpretation of the ceremonies just mentioned, as given me, is this: The Indian was laid in the grave to remain there, it was believed, only until the fourth day. The fires at head and feet, as well as the waving of the torches, were to guard him from the approach of 'evil birds' who would harm him. His feet were placed toward the east, that when he arose to go to the skies he might go straight to the sky path, which commenced at the place of the sun's rising; that were he laid with the feet in any other direction he would not know when he rose what path to take and he would be lost in the darkness. He had with him his bow and arrow, that he might procure food on his way. The piece of burnt wood in his hand was to protect him from the 'bad birds' while he was on his skyward journey. These 'evil birds' are called Ta-lak-i-çlak-o. The last rite paid to the Seminole dead is at the end of four moons. At that time the relatives go to the To-hŏp-ki and cut from around it the overgrowing grass. A widow lives with disheveled hair for the first twelve moons of her widowhood." (MacCauley, (1), pp. 520–522.)

Another form of Seminole burial has been mentioned, but it could not have been followed to any great extent. "The Seminoles of Florida are said to have buried in hollow trees, the bodies being placed in an upright position, occasionally the dead being crammed into a hollow log lying on the ground." (Yarrow, (1), p. 138.) The writer failed to give his authority for the statement.

TIMUCUAN TRIBES

Long before the Seminole reached central Florida the peninsula had been the home of other native tribes who have left many mounds and other works to indicate the positions of their villages. The northern half of the peninsula, from the Ocilla River on the north to the vicinity of Tampa Bay on the south, and thence across to about Cape Canaveral on the Atlantic coast, was, when first visited by the Spaniards, the home of tribes belonging to the Timucuan family, of whom very little is known. They were encountered near the site of

the present city of St. Augustine by Ponce de Leon in 1513, on the west coast by Narvaez in 1528, and in the same region by De Soto 11 years later. The southern half of the peninsula, especially along the Gulf coast, was also occupied by many villages, but even less is known of the inhabitants, nor is it definitely known to what linguistic family they belonged, although they may have been Muskhogean.

Much of interest regarding the burial customs of the ancient people who occupied this region at the time of the coming of Europeans has been learned as a result of the careful examination of many mounds, both on the east and west coast. Moore has examined many mounds on the west coast between Tampa Bay and the mouth of the Ocilla, and has discovered innumerable burials contained in them. Various forms are represented, with a large proportion closely flexed, and in other instances only skulls without any other bones in contact. But of all the works examined in this region the most interesting stood near Tarpon Springs, near the Gulf shore, in the far northwestern corner of Hillsboro County. This is the county in which Tampa is located. The mound was thoroughly explored and "the remains of more than six hundred skeletons" were encountered. "These, with notable exception—probably those of chiefs and head men—had been dismembered previously to interment, but were distributed in distinct groups that I regarded as communal or totemic and phratral, and of exceeding interest; for they seemed to indicate that the burial mound had been regarded by its builders as a tribal settlement, a sort of 'Little City of their Dead,' and that if so, it might be looked on as still, in a measure, representing the distribution and relation of the clans and phratries in an actual village or tribal settlement of these people when living. Moreover, in the minor disposition of the skeletons that had not been scattered, but had been buried in parks, or else entire and extended, in sherd-lined graves or wooden cists within and around each of these groups, it seemed possible to still trace somewhat of the relative ranks of individuals in these groups, and not a few of the social customs and religious beliefs of the ancient builders. This possibility was still further borne out by the fact that with the skeletal remains were associated, in different ways, many superb examples of pottery and sacrificial potsherds, and numerous stone, shell and bone utensils, weapons, and ornaments." (Cushing, (1), pp. 24–26.)

This interesting and plausible conclusion reached by Cushing regarding the placing of the dead belonging to the different totemic groups in distinct graves, or rather in distinct parts of the great burial mound, tends to recall Adair's description of the "bone-houses" of the Choctaw. He said "each house contained the bones of one tribe, separately." This must have referred to the clans and

phratries, and if such a distinction was made when the bodies were first placed in the "bone-houses," it is more than probable the same rule was followed when they were finally removed from them, then carried, and with certain ceremony placed on the surface and covered with earth. This may be the explanation of many groups of bundled burials encountered in mounds in the South, and again this would tend to prove some connection between the builders of the mound in question and the Muskhogean tribe, the Choctaw. The mound just mentioned, although larger than the majority, may be considered typical of the region.

The mounds on the east coast, or more correctly in the eastern portion of the peninsula, were somewhat different from those to the westward, and probably the burial customs were likewise different. Drawings made by the French artist Jacobo Le Moyne, who visited the east coast in the year 1564, were reproduced by De Bry in the second part of his famous collection of voyages, printed in 1591. One of the engravings, representing a burial ceremony in one of the Timucuan villages, is reproduced in plate 13, *b*. The description of the plate as given in the old work reads: "When a chief in that province dies, he is buried with great solemnities, his drinking-cup is placed on the grave, and many arrows are planted in the earth about the mound itself. His subjects mourn for him three whole days and nights, without taking any food. All the other chiefs, his friends, mourn in like manner; and both men and women, in testimony of their love for him, cut off more than half their hair. Besides this, for six months afterwards certain chosen women three times every day, at dawn, noon, and twilight, mourn for the deceased king with a great howling. And all his household stuff is put into his house, which is set on fire, and the whole burned up together. In like manner, when their priests die, they are buried in their own houses; which are then set on fire, and burned up with their furniture." (Le Moyne, (1).)

It will be noticed that in the drawing the house, evidently that of the deceased, is shown wrapped in flames, thus conforming with the description. The custom of destroying the houses in which death had occurred was also followed by the Natchez, the Taensa, and probably others. The Creeks are known to have abandoned their habitations after the death of one of the occupants, and may under some conditions have burned the structure; in other instances they continued to occupy the house after having interred the remains beneath the floor.

The village drawn by the French artist in 1564 probably stood in the present Duval County, Florida, a region in which many very interesting burial mounds have been discovered and examined. Many

of the mounds appear to have been erected over an area previously excavated, a detail lacking in the old drawing, which, however, should not be accepted as being very accurate. But the scene depicted may be the very beginning of the erection of such a structure. This may show the nucleus of such a work, prepared soon after the death of a great man whose tomb was later to be reared. But in regard to this most interesting question nothing can now be stated with any degree of certainty.

Moore has given a very graphic description of the construction of a mound examined by him which stood in Duval County, Florida, not far from the banks of the St. Johns. Its diameters were 63 feet and 58 feet, and its height, then greatly reduced by cultivation, was only 2 feet 2 inches. He wrote: "It was evident that the mound had been constructed in the following manner. First, a fire was built on the surface, possibly to destroy the underbrush. Next, a pit of the area of the intended mound was dug to a depth of about 3 feet. In a central portion of this pit was made a deposit of human remains with certain artifacts. . . . Then the pit was filled with the sand previously thrown out, through which was plentifully mingled charcoal from the surface fire. During the process of filling, various relics but no human remains, were deposited, and covered by the sand. When the pit was filled to the general level, a great fire was made over its entire area as was evidenced by a well-marked stratum of sand discolored by fire and containing particles of charcoal, extending entirely through the mound at the level of the surrounding territory. Upon this the mound proper was constructed and various bunched burials and art relics introduced.

"In all human remains were encountered eleven times, once at the base of the pit, the remainder in the body of the mound. The burials were of the bunched variety, but small portions remaining." (Moore, (6), pp. 27–29.)

Objects of shell, stone, pottery, and copper were recovered from the mound, which was entirely destroyed. Traces of great fires are characterstic of many mounds along the St. Johns, but whether they were supposed to have served some practical purpose, or were ceremonial, can not be told.

The mounds of this part of Florida often present some very interesting features. One of evidently quite recent origin was discovered about one-half mile north of Bayard Point, which is on the left bank of the St. Johns nearly opposite Picolata, in Clay County. Its height was about 4 feet 9 inches, diameter 45 feet. It was formed of unstratified whitish sand, with occasional pockets of charcoal. Associated with the several burials were objects of European origin. "Somewhat south of the centre of the mound was a male skeleton

at length, placed with the head northwest. At one side of the remains was a flint-lock gun, in reverse position with muzzle toward the feet. And nearby were traces of a bone handled awl, and probably a powder horn partly decorated with brass-headed nails, also a flint and steel, undoubtedly used in striking fire. Scattered in the mound, but not in direct contact with the human remains, were some fragments of pottery." Moore also found where other mounds had served the later inhabitants as burial places, intrusive burials often having many objects of foreign origin in contact. Some of these may be attributed to the Seminole of the past 150 years.

Midway across the peninsula, in the present Lake County, and within the Timucuan territory, have been encountered many mounds, shell deposits, and other signs of the occupancy of the country by a comparatively large native population. Some of the works were quite remarkable. One mound which stood about 200 yards from the right bank of Blue Creek was practically destroyed: "Its height was 5 feet 6 inches, its circumference 165 feet. . . . About one foot beneath the surface of the mound, which was otherwise composed of white sand of the surrounding territory, ran a layer of pinkish sand, having a maximum thickness of eighteen inches. . . . Chemical analysis showed the coloring matter to be pulverized hematite." Burials were encountered only beneath the unbroken stratum of pink sand. "They were mainly on or below the base and were all disconnected bones, crania greatly preponderating."

About 2 miles distant from the preceding was another mound of equal interest, and likewise presenting several curious features. Examining this, "thirty crania were met with. . . . At times bundles of long bones were found without the skull, while in other portions of the mound fragments of isolated crania were encountered. At times great bunches of long bones were found with two or three crania in association. . . . Most skeletons lay near or upon the base."

No extended, complete skeletons were encountered in this mound, but it is evident that here, as elsewhere, the later burials were made more after the customs of the whites. It is likewise of interest to know positively that mounds were reared after the coming of Europeans. Such a work was examined and described by Moore. It stood about 1 mile northwest of Fort Mason, just north of Lake Yale. When examined it was 50 feet in diameter but only 2 feet in height, having been reduced by cultivation. "Unlike other mounds demolished by us on the Oklawaha, the method of burial in this mound was in anatomical order, in various forms of flexion. In all fifteen skeletons were encountered." Objects of iron, silver, and copper were associated with them, being of European origin; and in addition to these pieces of foreign work three skeletons had

each one polished stone celt near by. Stone arrowheads were also found in the mound, the whole of which had been erected after contact with Europeans. The mound probably belongs to the transition period, before native implements and weapons had been entirely superseded by others of European make, but while they were still retained and used. And although this mound was not far from the site of a late village of the Seminole, it would seem that it belonged to a somewhat earlier period, as it is doubtful if these late comers would have had, and evidently used, implements of stone. (The preceding references to mounds in Lake County, are quoted from Moore, (6).)

It is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the different burials now found in central Florida. Many are unquestionably quite ancient, dating from some generations before the coming of the Spaniards; others are comparatively recent. The older forms may be Timucuan or even of the people who may have traversed this section when going farther southward; possibly some very old Muskhogean tribe. But no human remains yet found in Florida, or elsewhere east of the Mississippi, can justly be attributed to a people more ancient than the native American tribes, as now known and recognized.

Another interesting detail was noted by Moore in a mound on the bank of the St. Johns, in St. Johns County, about 3 miles north of Picolata. The mound was about 6 feet 6 inches in height and 64 feet in diameter. On the original surface, covering the center of the base of the mound, "was a flooring of split plank in the last stages of decay, about 13 feet square. Its thickness was 2 inches." This was red cedar. Within the work were discovered 34 separate bundles of bones, but no entire skeletons. This discovery was made in 1894. For the sake of comparison, to show the similarity of customs in widely separated parts of the country, but by people in no way connected with one another, a reference may be made to a discovery made in a mound far north in Ohio. The mound referred to stood "upon the broad and beautiful terrace on which Chillicothe stands, about 1 mile to the north of that town," in Ross County. It was about 15 feet in height and 70 feet in diameter. The work was excavated, but nothing was encountered until the human skeleton, at the base of the mound, was reached. "The course of preparation for the burial seemed to have been as follows: The surface of the ground was first carefully leveled and packed, over an area perhaps ten or fifteen feet square. This area was then covered with sheets of bark, on which, in the center, the body of the dead was deposited, with a few articles of stone at its side, and a few small ornaments near the head. It was then covered over

with another layer of bark, and the mound heaped above." (Squier and Davis, (1), p. 164.)

The latter burial also closely resembled those discovered in a mound on Creighton Island, McIntosh County, Georgia, although there the deposits of bark or wood were only of sufficient size to cover a single skeleton. But a great many burials within mounds may originally have been so protected by slabs of wood, or sheets of bark, all traces of which have long ago decayed and disappeared.

SIOUAN GROUPS

The piedmont region of Virginia, and southward, was claimed and occupied by tribes belonging to the Siouan linguistic group. Among these may be mentioned the Monacan, enemies of the Powhatan tribes during the early years of the colony; the Tutelo and Saponi, whose lands extended into the northern part of Carolina; and the better known Catawba, the most important of the eastern Siouan tribes. The Biloxi and Ofo of Mississippi and the Winnebago of Wisconsin were likewise members of this stock. And there is reason to suppose the upper Ohio Valley was once the home of other Siouan tribes who had moved westward, beyond the Mississippi, some years before the coming of Europeans.

THE MONACAN

During the autumn of the year 1608 a party of the colonists from Jamestown, led by Capt. Newport, ascended the James to the Falls, the site of the present city of Richmond, and leaving their boats, continued westward "into the Land called the Monscane." This was the territory of the Monacan, a Siouan people who were ever enemies of the Powhatan tribes of the tidewater region, which extends eastward from the line of the Falls to the Atlantic. Moving westward from the Falls the party discovered the Monacan villages of Massinacak and Mowhemenchouch. Although the eastern boundary of this tribal territory was so clearly defined its western limits are not known, but at some time it undoubtedly extended westward to the mountains beyond the Jackson Valley. The Rivanna was near the center of this region, and at or near the mouth of this stream, on the left bank of the James, in the present Fluvanna County, Virginia, was one of the most important Monacan towns, Rassawck, as indicated on the map prepared by Capt. John Smith.

An Indian village seldom remained for many years on a given spot, its position being shifted back and forth, as certain causes made necessary; therefore, it is more than probable that remains of an old settlement encountered on the river bank some 3 miles above Columbia indicate the site of *Rassawck* during some period

of its existence. Traces of the town were exposed by the great freshet of 1870, and "when the water receded it was found that fully four feet of the surface had been removed, revealing not less than 40 or 50 'fireplaces' scattered at intervals, generally 30 to 40 feet apart. Lying among the ashes and burned earth, or scattered close about, were many burned stones, fragments of pottery, animal bones, mostly broken, some of them calcined, arrowheads, great quantities of chips and broken arrows, and other indications of a former Indian town. . . . Scattered between the fire beds were the graves, readily distinguished by the darker color of the earth. They were circular, or nearly so, about 3 feet in diameter, and none of them more than 18 or 20 inches deep. One contained the skeletons of a woman and a child, one of a man and a woman, a few those of two women, but most of them disclosed the remains of only one individual in each. . . . More than 25 graves were carefully examined, but no relics were found in any of them; if anything had been buried with the bodies, it was of a perishable nature." (Fowke, (1), p. 13.)

The valley of the James is rich in evidence of the days of Indian occupancy, and of the many sites which have been discovered one of the most interesting and extensive stood on the bank of the stream near Gala, in the present Botetourt County. Many human remains have been recovered from the site, and it has been estimated that about 200 skeletons were encountered while constructing the railway which traversed the ancient settlement. Some of the bodies had been placed extended, others were closely flexed. Many pits were discovered, some quite shallow, others several feet in depth, all filled with camp refuse, like the great mass by which the site was covered. (Fowke, op. cit.)

There was evidently a great similarity between the two settlements just mentioned. It appears that no burial place was set apart away from the habitations, but that the graves were made at intervals between the fire beds, or the caches which originally served for the storage of food supplies. In this southern country the fires were probably made outside the dwellings, in which circumstance the latter must necessarily have stood between the fire beds. Therefore the burials were made either just outside the habitations or, following the custom of the Creeks, which is doubtful, the dead may have been placed in graves excavated beneath the floors of the homes of the living. However this may have been, the burial customs of the occupants of these settlements on the banks of the James differed greatly from those of the people who, at one time, lived just northward, in the valley of the Rivanna. But, as will be shown later, there was a great similarity between the appearance of the site at Gala, with its numerous pits, and various ancient villages in Ohio.

To return to the valley of the Rivanna, on the map made by Capt. Smith, as already mentioned, *Rassawck* is indicated, and beyond it toward the north is another town, *Monassukapanough*, not far from a stream evidently intended to represent the Rivanna. The valley may have been comparatively thickly peopled during precolonial times, as it was well adapted to the wants and requirements of the native inhabitants, but before the close of the seventeenth century the number had become greatly reduced, and about the year 1730, when white settlers entered the region, only a few Indians lived in or frequented the present county of Albemarle. In 1735 a grant of 600 acres of land was made to one Thomas Moorman; the land laid on the right, or south, bank of the Rivanna, and included the "Indian Grave low grounds." This is a rich area of many acres, but subject to overflow. It is directly north of the University of Virginia. "Indian Grave" referred to a burial mound which stood on the lowland just south of the Rivanna. In this connection it is interesting to know that the term "Indian grave," often heard in the South, referred to a mound, a communal grave or burial, and not to a single grave containing the remains of one person. The mound near the bank of the Rivanna was examined and described by Jefferson a few years before the Revolution. Monticello, the home of Jefferson, was only a few miles away to the southeast. Regarding this most interesting work Jefferson wrote:

"It was situated on the low grounds of the Rivanna, about two miles above its principal fork, and opposite to some hills, on which had been an Indian town. It was of a spheroidical form, of about forty feet diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude, though now reduced by the plough to seven and a half, having been under cultivation about a dozen years. Before this it was covered with trees of twelve inches diameter, and round the base was an excavation of five feet depth and width, from whence the earth had been taken of which the hillock was formed. I first dug superficially in several parts of it, and came to collections of human bones, at different depths, from six inches to three feet below the surface. These were lying in the utmost confusion, some vertical, some oblique, some horizontal, and directed to every point of the compass, entangled, and held together in clusters by the earth. Bones of the most distant parts were found together; as, for instance, the small bones of the foot in the hollow of a scull, many sculls would sometimes be in contact, lying on the face, on the side, on the back, top or bottom, so as, on the whole, to give the idea of bones emptied promiscuously from a bag or basket, and covered over with earth, without any attention to their order. The bones of which the greatest numbers remained, were sculls, jaw-bones, teeth, the bones of the arms, thighs, legs, feet, and hands. A few ribs remained, some verte-

brae of the neck and spine, without their processes, and one instance only of the bone which serves as a base for the vertebral column. The sculls were so tender, that they generally fell to pieces on being touched. The other bones were stronger. There were some teeth which were judged to be smaller than those of an adult; a scull, which, on a slight view, appeared to be that of an infant, but it fell to pieces on being taken out, so as to prevent satisfactory examination; a rib, and a fragment of the under-jaw of a person about half grown; another rib of an infant; and part of the jaw of a child, which had not yet cut its teeth. This last furnishing the most decisive proof of the burial of children here, I was particular in my attention to it. It was part of the right half of the under jaw. The processes, by which it was articulated to the temporal bones, was entire; and the bone itself firm to where it had been broken off, which, as nearly as I could judge, was about the place of the eye-tooth. Its upper edge, wherein would have been the sockets of the teeth, was perfectly smooth. Measuring it with that of an adult, by placing their hinder processes together, its broken end extended to the penultimate grinder of the adult. This bone was white, all the others of a sand colour. The bones of infants being soft, they probably decay sooner, which might be the cause so few were found here. I proceeded then to make a perpendicular cut through the body of the barrow, that I might examine its internal structure. This passed about three feet from its center, was opened to the former surface of the earth, and was wide enough for a man to walk through and examine its sides. At the bottom, that is, on the level of the circumjacent plain, I found bones; above these a few stones, brought from a cliff a quarter of a mile off, and from the river one-eighth of a mile off; then a large interval of earth, then a stratum of bones, and so on. At one end of the section were four strata of bones plainly distinguishable; at the other, three; the strata in one part not ranging with those in another. The bones nearest the surface were least decayed. No holes were discovered in any of them, as if made with bullets, arrows, or other weapons. I conjectured that in this barrow might have been a thousand skeletons. . . . Appearances certainly indicate that it has derived both origin and growth from the accustomary collection of bones, and deposition of them together; that the first collection had been deposited on the common surface of the earth, a few stones put over it, and then a covering of earth, that the second had been laid on this, had covered more or less of it in proportion to the number of bones, and was then also covered with earth; and so on." (Jefferson, (1), pp. 103–106.)

From the statement by Jefferson it is evident the mound had been greatly reduced by the plow at the time of his examination, and the reduction of several feet in height, as indicated,

would undoubtedly have removed one or more strata of human remains. Such a mass of bodies, or rather parts of bodies, probably represented an accumulation during several generations. It must have been a place of renown among the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Rivanna, and this may have been the site of the town of *Monassukapanough*. That it was an important place is indicated by another statement by Jefferson (op. cit.), who, when writing of mounds in general, but of the "Indian grave" in particular, said: "But on whatever occasion they may have been made, they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians; for a party passing, about thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or enquiry, and having staid about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left about half a dozen miles to pay this visit, and pursued their journey." This visit probably took place about the time the land was granted to the settlers, and the Indians who so well knew of the situation of this burial place must have been some who had formerly lived in the near-by village. A plan of this interesting area is given in figure 15, the approximate site of the "Indian grave" being indicated by the heavy dot. In plate 14 are shown several views of the same area. Looking northward across the Rivanna, *a*, the sites of the village and ancient mound are visible on the level lowland, just before reaching the first line of trees which stands along the right bank of the river. The second, *b*, is looking northwestward, along the cliffs which bound the lowland, and *c* shows the Rivanna in front of the land once occupied by the native village. At the present time the surface upon which the settlement stood is covered by nearly 3 feet of alluvium, deposited by the waters of the Rivanna during freshets. During recent years, floods have several times cut into this upper stratum, and when the waters receded various objects of Indian origin were discovered, thus proving the location of a native town. (Bushnell, (4).) And it is said that within a century other Indians stopped here, a site known to them, while moving from place to place, but who they were, or whence they came, may never be revealed.

Another great burial place, evidently similar to the "Indian grave," stood on the right bank of the Rapidan about 1 mile east of the boundary between Orange and Greene Counties, Virginia, and in an air line about 15 miles from the latter. A great part of the structure had been washed away by the river, which, having formed a new channel, reached to the base of the mound, a part being undermined and carried away by the current. It was estimated to have been originally not less than 12 feet in height, and the diameters of its base were probably about 50 and 75 feet. When the remaining portion

was examined, many strata of bones were encountered, mingled and confused, all ages being represented. While some of the remains were in a fair state of preservation others were reduced to a powder. "Numerous small deposits of human bones almost destroyed by fire were scattered through the mound. When found in the bone-

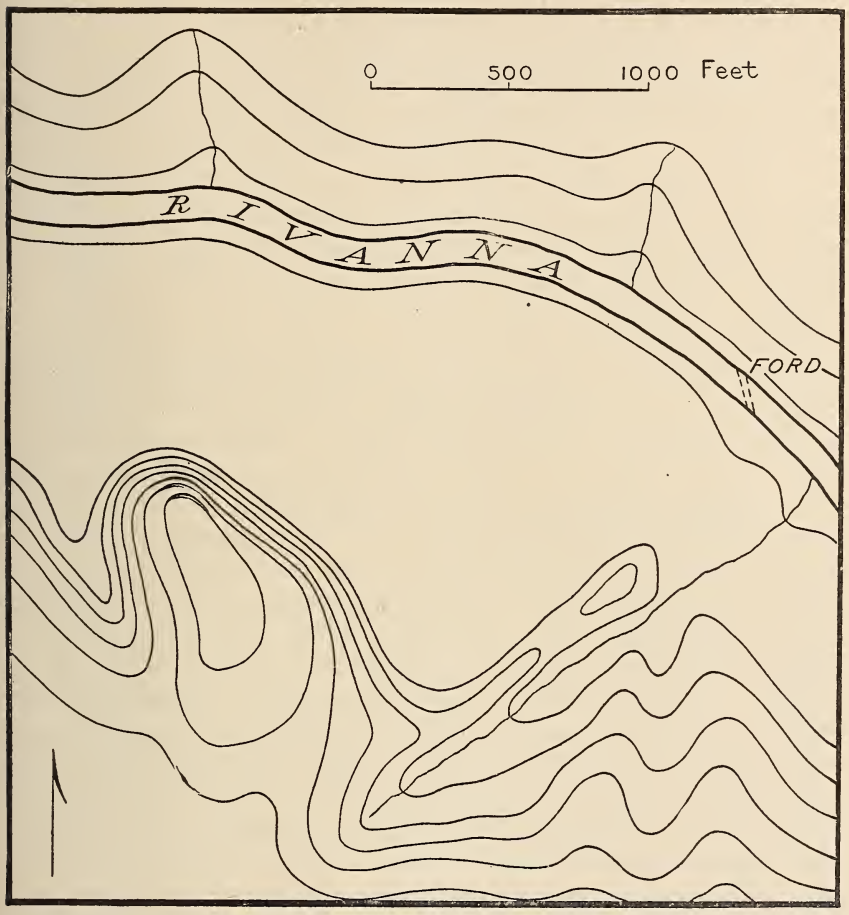

FIG. 15.—Plan of "The Indian Grave low grounds," showing approximate site of the mound opened by Jefferson. (Contour intervals about 10 feet.)

beds, they seemed to have been placed at random, but when found with the remains of not more than 2 or 3 skeletons they formed a thin layer upon which the latter rested." Pits were encountered beneath the mound, these evidently having been prepared before the superstratum was formed. These were of two forms: "One class was excavated to a depth of 2 feet in the soil, with a diameter varying from 4 to 5 feet; the others did not exceed a foot in depth, and all were somewhat less than 4 feet across. The deeper one contained

usually 3 layers of decomposed bones at intervals of about 10 inches; in the shallower there was in most cases only a single layer, at the bottom, though in a few a second deposit had been made a few inches above the first. The bones in some of the graves appeared to have been placed in their proper position; but it was impossible to ascertain with certainty whether such was the case. One of the deeper pits had its bottom and sides lined with charcoal; none of the others had even this slight evidence of care or respect. . . . No relics of any sort were deposited with the bones; a rough mortar, 2 arrowheads, and some fragments of pottery were found loose in the débris. . . . It is impossible to accurately estimate the number of skeletons found in this mound; but there were certainly not fewer than 200, and there may possibly have been 250. These figures will represent, approximately, one-fourth of the entire number deposited, if the statements as to the original size of the mound be correct." (Fowke, (1), pp. 33–36.)

Jefferson failed to mention pits beneath the mound examined by him, and they may or may not have existed; nevertheless the great similarity of the two mounds makes it certain they were erected by people possessing the same burial customs. Both were on the right banks of the streams, and they undoubtedly indicated the positions of two ancient Monacan settlements which may have been occupied at the time of the coming of the colonists to Jamestown in 1607.

The visit of Indians to the mound on the Rivanna, some years after the adjoining village had been abandoned, as told by Jefferson, is most interesting, but other similar instances are known. In a letter to the Bureau of Ethnology about the year 1890 the late W. M. Ambler, of Louisa County, Virginia, mentioned a burial mound on the bank of Dirty Swamp Creek, in that county, and said in part: "I was told by Abner Harris, now deceased, that some Indians from the southwest visited this mound many years ago. They left their direct route to Washington at Staunton, and reached the exact spot traveling through the woods on foot. This has made me suppose that this mound was a noted one in Indian annals."

Another visit by some remnant of a native tribe to an ancient burial place has been recorded. This was on the lowlands near the bank of the Cowpasture, or Wallawhutoola River, in Bath County, Virginia, on the lands of Warwick Gatewood. The account, as preserved, reads: "Some years since, Col. Adam Dickinson, who then owned and lived on the land, in a conversation I had with him, related to me that many years before that time, as he was sitting in his porch one afternoon, his attention was arrested by a company of strange-looking men coming up the bottom lands of the river. They seemed to him to be in quest of something, when, all at once,

they made a sudden angle, and went straight to the mound. He saw them walking over it and round and round; seeming to be engaged in earnest talk. After remaining a length of time, they left it and came to the house. The company, I think he told me, consisted of ten or twelve Indians; all young men except one, who seemed to be borne down with extreme old age. By signs they asked for something to eat; which was given them; after which they immediately departed." (Montanus, (1), pp. 91–92.)

With three distinct accounts of visits by parties of Indians to their ancient burial places—and it is plausible to consider the different journeys to have been undertaken by some whose forefathers were buried in the mounds—it is to be regretted that apparently no attempt was made to ascertain the name of the tribe to which the several groups belonged or whence they came. But only those whose ancestors lay in these great tribal burial places would have retained the traditions of the sites, and these and no others would have made pilgrimages to their tombs. And so it is evident that descendants of the once numerous Monacan were living in piedmont Virginia within a century, and still retained knowledge of the locations of their ancient settlements with their near-by cemeteries. Now all have passed away.

It is more than probable that other mounds once standing in this part of Virginia, similar to the one examined by Jefferson, have been entirely destroyed and no record of their existence preserved, and were it not for Jefferson's own account that most interesting example would have suffered a like fate. But burial places of this form may not have existed over a very wide region. One was formerly standing some 3½ miles north of Luray, near the bank of Pass Run, in Page County, Virginia. It had been reduced by the plow from an original height of between 8 and 9 feet to about one-third of that elevation. The remaining portion of the mound when examined revealed great quantities of human remains, some of which were cremated, all greatly decayed. Graves were encountered beneath the original surface upon which the structure was raised. Some burials were covered by stones. Various objects of native origin were associated with the burials. (Fowke, (1), pp. 49–53.)

A similar burial place, estimated to have contained at least 800 skeletons, or remains of that number of individuals, stood about 2 miles northwest of Linville, near the bank of Linville Creek, in Rockingham County, Virginia. This likewise had been greatly reduced by cultivation, and "over the entire surface of the mound, to a depth of six inches, there is not so much as a space three inches square that did not contain fragments of bone which had been dragged down

from the top by cultivation." (Fowke, op. cit.) Another stood about 5 miles above the mouth of the Bullpasture, in Highland County, Virginia. "For forty years human bones and teeth have been plowed out every time the mound was cultivated," but from the remaining part of the mound "the remains of between seventy-five and one hundred skeletons were exhumed." (Fowke, op. cit.) A mound in which the bodies were less compactly deposited stood on Hayes Creek, in Rockbridge County, Virginia. (Valentine Museum, (1).)

Referring to the native tribes of this part of Virginia Mooney has written: "The history of the Monacan tribes of Virginia belongs to two distinct periods, the colonization period and the colonial period. By the former we may understand the time of exploration and settlement from the first landing of the English in Virginia to the expeditions of Lederer and Batts, in 1670 and 1671, which supplied the first definite information in regard to the country along the base of the mountains. Under the colonial period we may include everything else, as after the Revolution the small remnant incorporated with the Iroquois in Canada virtually disappeared from history. Up to 1670 the Monacan tribes had been but little disturbed by the whites, although there is evidence that the wars waged against them by the Iroquois were keeping them constantly shifting about. Their country had not been penetrated, excepting by a few traders, who kept no journals, and only the names of those living immediately on the frontiers of Virginia were known to the whites. Chief among these were the Monacan proper, having their village a short distance above Richmond. In 1670 Lederer crossed the country in a diagonal line from the present Richmond to Catawba River, on the frontiers of South Carolina, and a year later a party under Batts explored the country westward across the Blue Ridge to the headwaters of New River. Thenceforward accounts were heard of Nahyssan, Sapona, Totero, Occaneechi, and others consolidated afterwards in a single body at the frontier, Fort Christanna, and thereafter known collectively as Saponi or Tutelo. The Monacan proper form the connecting link between the earlier and the later period. The other tribes of this connection were either extinct or consolidated under other names before 1700, or were outside of the territory known to the first writers. For this reason it is difficult to make the names of the earlier tribes exactly synonymous with those known later, although the proof of lineal descent is sometimes beyond question." (Mooney, (1), pp. 25–26.)

Thus it will be understood that although piedmont Virginia was the home of many related tribes, all of whom may have belonged to the Siouan linguistic family, sufficient information is not available to make it possible to designate the habitat of each tribe, and thereby identify the occupants of a village when a near-by burial place was created.

The ancient burial places which have been encountered scattered over this region reveal something of the customs of the people, and indicate the final disposition of the remains of the dead, but practically nothing is known of the ceremonies which attended death and burial. Mooney, when summarizing Lederer's rather vague narrative, said: "They had a strict marriage and kinship system, based on this clan division, with descent in the female line. . . . Even in death this division was followed out and separate quarters of their burial places were assigned to each of the four clans. The dead were wrapped in skins of animals and buried with food and household properties deemed necessary for the use of the ghost in the other world. When a noted warrior died, prisoners of war were sometimes killed at the grave to accompany him to the land of the dead. Their spirit world was in the west, beyond the mountains and the traditional western ocean." (Mooney, (1), p. 33.)

It is not known to which of the tribes Lederer referred in particular, but there is a possibility of its having been applicable to all the Siouan groups with whom he came in contact while crossing the central piedmont country. He mentioned four gentes, therefore it would be expected that the ancient cemeteries, of whatever form they were, contained burials in that number of groups (Lederer, (1)), but at the present time it would be impossible to distinguish any such division.

THE SANTEE

Siouan tribes extended southward into the central portions of the present State of South Carolina, and the Santee were undoubtedly members of this linguistic family. One of their villages probably stood on the shore of Scott Lake, in the valley of the Santee about 9 miles southwest of Summerton, Clarendon County. Here, near the shore of the lake, is a conical mound of earth, and scattered over the surrounding area are many fragments of pottery and other traces of an Indian settlement, but the surface has been modified by the waters of the Santee during periods of flood, and consequently the greater part of the surface as it was at the time of Indian occupancy has been washed away or covered by alluvium. This site is, in a direct line, a little more than 60 miles northwest of Charleston, and the village may have been one visited by Lawson during the first days of January, 1701. The mound may have been the one referred to by Lawson, who, after mentioning his meeting with the Santee, continued: "Near to these Cabins are several Tombs made after the fashion of the Indians; the largest and chiefest of them was the Sepulchre of the late Indian King of the Santees, a Man of Great Power, not only amongst his own subjects, but dreaded by the Neighboring Nations for his great Valour and Con-

duct, having as large a Prerogative in his Way of Ruling as the Present King I now spoke of.

"The manner of their Interment is thus: A Mole or Pyramid of Earth is raised, the Mole thereof being worked very smooth and even, sometimes higher or lower, according to the dignity of the Person whose Monument it is. On the Top there is an Umbrella, made Ridge-Ways, like the roof of an House; this is supported by nine Stakes or small Posts, the grave being about 6 to 8 foot in Length, and Four Foot in Breadth; about it is hung Gourds, Feathers, and other suchlike Trophies, placed there by the dead man's relations, in Respect to him in the Grave. The other part of the Funeral Rites are thus: As soon as the party is dead, they lay the corpse on a piece of bark in the Sun, seasoning or embalming it with a small root beaten to powder, which looks as red as Vermillion; the same is mixed with Bear's Oil to beautify the Hair. . . . After the Carcass has laid a day or two in the Sun, they remove it and lay it upon Crotches cut on purpose for the support thereof from the Earth; Then they anoint it all over with the fore-mentioned ingredients of the powder of this root and Bear's Oil. When it is so done, they cover it over very exactly with bark of the Pine or Cyprus Trees, to prevent any Rain to fall upon it, sweeping the ground very clean all about it. Some of the nearest Kin brings all the temporal Estate he was possess'd of at his death, as Guns, Bows, Arrows, Beads, Feathers, Match-Coat, etc. This relation is the chief mourner, being clad in moss, and a stick in his hand, keeping a mournful ditty for three or four days, his face being black with the Smoke of Pitch Pine mingled with Bear's Oil. All the while he tells the dead Man's relations, and the rest of the spectators who that Dead Person was, and of the Great Feats performed in his lifetime; all of what he speaks, tending to the praise of the defunct. As soon as the flesh grows mellow, and will cleave from the bone, they get it off, and burn it, making all the bones very clean, then anoint them with the ingredients aforesaid, wrapping up the Skull (very carefully) in a cloth artificially woven of Possum's Hair. (These Indians make Girdles, Sashes, Garters, etc., after the same manner) The bones they very carefully preserve in a wooden box, every year oiling and cleaning them; by this means preserve them for many ages, that you may see an Indian in possession of the bones of his grandfather, or some of his relations of a larger Antiquity. They have other sorts of Tombs, as where an Indian is slain, in that place they make a heap of stones, (or sticks where stones are not to be found) to this memorial every Indian that passes by adds a stone to augment the Heap, in respect to the deceas'd hero." (Lawson, (1), pp. 9–10.)

The preceding account treated of the Santee, with whom Lawson came in contact soon after starting on his memorable journey through the wilds of Carolina, but later in his history he presented a more general description of the burial customs of the native tribes of the region, and fortunately recorded many interesting details. The greater the man in life, the more elaborate was his burial. "The first thing which is done is to place the nearest Relations near the Corps, who mourn and weep very much, having their hair hung down their Shoulders, in a very forlorn manner. After the dead Person has laid a Day and a Night in one of their Hurdles of Canes, commonly in some out-House made for that purpose, those that officiate about the Funeral go into Town, and the first young Men they meet withal that have Blankets or Match Coats on, whom they think fit for their Turn, they strip them from their Backs, who suffer them to do so without any Resistance. In these they wrap the dead Bodies, and convey them with two or three Mats which the Indians make of Rushes or Cane; and last of all they have a long Web of woven Reeds, or hollow Canes, which is the Coffin of the Indians, and is brought around several times and is tied fast at both ends, which indeed looks very decent and well. Then the Corps is brought out of the House into the Orchard of Peach-Trees, where another Hurdle is made to receive it, about which comes all the Relations and Nation that the dead person belonged to, besides several from other Nations in Alliance with them; all which sit down on the Ground upon Mats spread there for that purpose."

Then various persons gathered about the body and would tell of his very many acts of bravery, speak of his greatness while living, and extol his virtues, and "At last the Corps is brought away from that Hurdle to the Grave, by four young Men, attended by the Relations, the King, Old Men and all the Nation. When they come to the Sepulchre, which is about six foot deep, and eight foot long, having at each end, (that is, at the Head and Foot) a Light-Wood or Pitch-Pine Fork driven close down the sides of the Grave, firmly into the Ground; (these two forks are to contain a Ridge-Pole, as you shall understand presently) before they lay the Corps into the Grave they cover the bottom two or three times over with Bark of Trees, then they let down the Corps with two Belts, that the Indians carry their Burdens withal very leisurely upon the said Barks; then they lay over a Pole of the Same Wood, in the two Forks, and having a great many Pieces of Pitch-Pine logs, about two foot and a half long, they stick them in the sides of the Grave down each end, and near the top thereof, where the other Ends lie on the Ridge-Pole, so that they are declining like the roof of a House. These being very thick plac'd they cover them (many

times double) with Bark; then they throw the Earth thereon, that came out of the Grave, and beat it down very firm, by this means the Dead body lies in a Vault, nothing touching him; so that when I saw this way of burial, I was mightily pleased with it, esteeming it very pleasant and decent, as having seen a great many Christians buried without the tenth part of that Ceremony and Decency. Now when the Flesh is rotten and Moulder'd from the Bones they take up the Carcass and clean the Bones, and joint them together; afterwards they dress them up in pure white dressed Deer-Skins, and lay them amongst their Grandees and Kings in the Quiogozon, which is their royal Tomb or Burial-Place of their Kings and War-Captains. This is a very large Magnificent Cabin, (according to their Building) which is raised at the Public Charge of the Nation, and maintained in a great deal of form and Neatness. About seven foot high is a Floor or Loft made, on which lie all their Princes and great Men, that have died for several Hundred years, all attired in the dress I have before told you of. No person is to have his bones lie here and be thus dressed, unless he gives a round sum of their Money to the Rulers, for Admittance. If they remove never so far, to live in a Foreign Country, they never fail to take all these Dead Bones with them, tho' the Tediousness of their short daily Marches keeps them never so long on their Journey. They reverence and adore this Quiogozon, with all the Veneration and Respect that is possible for such a People to discharge, and had rather lose all than have any Violence or Injury offer'd thereto. These Savages differ some small matter in their Burials; some burying right upwards, and otherwise. . . . Yet they all agree in their Mourning, which is to appear every night at the Sepulchre, and howl and weep in a very dismal manner, having their Faces dawb'd with Light-Wood Soot, (which is the same as Lamp-Black) and Bears Oil. . . . If the Dead Person was a Grandee, to carry on the Funeral Ceremonies, they hire people to cry and Lament over the Dead Body." (Lawson, (1), pp. 106–109.)

A cemetery and village site which may be attributed to one of the Siouan tribes stand near the bank of Yadkin River, a short distance from the village of East Bend, Yadkin County, North Carolina. The cemetery, which was examined by Capt. R. D. Wainwright, occupies the north end of a low ridge, and many graves have been exposed or washed away by the waters of the Yadkin. The majority of skeletons appear to have been flexed. As described, " these skeletons were found within a few feet of each other and all nearly on the same level, about four feet below the original surface. In nearly every case, at the same level and very close to the burial, were the remains of a fire. In these remains were found tortoise shells, bones of the deer, and often fragments of pottery discolored by the action of the

fire." Many implements and ornaments were found associated with the burials. These included stone celts and one of iron, and shell and copper beads of different forms, while resting upon one skeleton was a copper ornament 4 inches in diameter and perforated through the center. Pieces of galena were met with in different burials. Pipes of stone and some of pottery were likewise found. The area adjoining the cemetery was evidently occupied by the village, and many objects of stone and copper, fragments of pottery vessels, beads, and broken pipes are found scattered about, "and in every direction calcined stones are plentiful." This was evidently the site of an important town of two centuries or more ago.

In the far southeastern section of the region once occupied by Siouan tribes, in Duplin County, North Carolina, are several burial mounds which may have been erected by these people long before the coming of the colonists to the Cape Fear. The mounds were carefully examined some years ago by the late Dr. J. A. Holmes, and one in particular recalls the burial mounds of piedmont Virginia, likewise attributed to a Siouan tribe. This stood about one-half mile southwest of the court house at Kenansville, Duplin County, on a dry, sandy ridge. When examined it was only 3 feet in height and 35 feet in diameter. Its height was probably much reduced since erection. It was found to contain 60 burials, and with few exceptions the skeletons had been closely flexed. "In a few cases the skeletons occurred singly, while in other cases several were found in actual contact with one another; and in one portion of the mound, near the outer edge, twenty-one skeletons were found placed within a space of six feet square. Here, in the case last mentioned, several of the skeletons lay side by side, others on top of these, parallel to them, while still others lay on top of and across the first. When one skeleton was located above another, in some cases the two were in actual contact, in other cases they were separated by one foot or more of soil. Many fragments of pottery, and small pieces of charcoal were scattered throughout the mound. No implements of any form were found. Near the skull of one skeleton were discovered about seventy-five small shells, *Marginella roscida*, which had served as beads. The apex of each one had been ground off obliquely so as to leave an opening passing through the shell from the apex to the anterior canal." (Sprunt, (1).) As stated above, this mound is suggestive of others discovered northward in piedmont Virginia.

THE BILOXI AND PASCAGOULA

The "Siouan Tribes of the East," whose burial customs so far as known are detailed on the preceding pages, were carefully studied some years ago, at which time all available notes were gath-

ered and presented in a single volume. (Mooney, (1).) A few years before the preparation of this most interesting bulletin a discovery of the greatest importance was made by another member of the bureau staff, Mr. Gatschet, who, while engaged in Louisiana in 1886, discovered a small band of Biloxi, some of whom spoke their old language, which Gatschet soon found was Siouan. The Biloxi therefore belonged to the great Siouan family, and the neighboring Pascagoula were probably of the same stock. These were among the first of the native tribes encountered by the French in 1699, and, fortunately, a sketch of their burial customs has been preserved. The account was written by a French officer about the year 1730, and, as quoted by Swanton, reads (Dorsey and Swanton, (1), p. 7):

"The Paskagoulas and the Billoxis never inter their chief when he is dead, but they have his body dried in the fire and smoke so that they make of it a veritable skeleton. After having reduced it to this condition they carry it to the temple (for they have one as well as the Natchez) and put it in the place occupied by its predecessor, which they take from the place which it occupied to place it with the bodies of their other chiefs in the interior of the temple, where they are all ranged in succession on their feet like statues. With regard to the one last dead, it is exposed at the entrance of the temple on a kind of altar or table made of canes and covered with a very fine mat worked very neatly in red and yellow squares (*Quarreaux*) with the skin of these same canes. The body of the chief is exposed in the middle of this table upright on its feet, supported behind by a long pole painted red, the end of which passes above his head and to which he is fastened at the middle of the body by a creeper. In one hand he holds a war club or a little ax, in the other a pipe, and above his head is fastened, at the end of the pole which supports him, the most famous of all the calumets which have been presented to him during his life. It may be added that this table is scarcely elevated from the earth half a foot, but it is at least six feet wide and ten long. It is to this table that they come every day to serve food to the dead chief, placing before him dishes of hominy, parched or smoke-dried grain, etc. It is there also that at the beginning of all the harvests his subjects offer him the first of all the fruits which they can gather. All of this kind that is presented to him remains on this table, and as the door of the temple is always open, as there is no one appointed to watch it, as consequently whoever wants to enters, and as besides it is a full quarter of a league distant from the village, it happens that there are commonly strangers—hunters or savages—who profit by these dishes and these fruits, or that they are consumed by animals. But that is all the same to these savages. . . . It is also before this table that during some months the widow of the chief, his children, his nearest relations,

come from time to time to pay him a visit and to make him a speech as if he were in a condition to hear . . . they always end their speech by telling him not to be angry with them, to eat well, and that they will always take good care of him." (Dumont, (1), I, pp. 240–243.)

SOUTHERN OHIO AND ADJACENT REGIONS

The origin and age of the earthworks of southern Ohio and the adjoining sections of Kentucky and West Virginia have remained unsolved questions. The works are remarkable for three reasons, namely, their size, number and forms. By their size and number it is quite evident they were erected by a sedentary people, a numerous people who occupied the country for a long period, and by their forms it is shown these same people possessed certain recognized customs and beliefs which caused them to erect the great circles and squares, octagons and other figures, so accurately and skillfully constructed. And so the questions arise, By whom were the vast works raised? and, For what reason was the rich and fertile land abandoned?

The first of the many groups of earthworks to be described was that at Marietta, on the Ohio at the mouth of the Muskingum. These were surveyed by Capt. Jonathan Heart, and his map, together with descriptive text, appeared in Vol. I, No. 9, of The Columbian Magazine, published in Philadelphia in May, 1787. Other accounts were soon printed, to be followed in 1848 by the great work by E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis, this being the most interesting and most valuable volume ever published on American antiquities. During latter years many of the sites described at that time have disappeared through the cultivation of the soil; others have become greatly reduced in height and have lost their clearness of outline. Some have been carefully examined and accounts of the discoveries preserved; others have been destroyed and no knowledge of the nature of their contents can be gained. And the losses thus sustained can never be regained. It is gratifying to know that many of the original maps prepared for the work by Squier and Davis are preserved in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and one of the most interesting of these is now reproduced as plate 16, the same as was engraved and presented as No. 1, Pate III, Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. The original shows a few details not indicated in the engraved copy. On the plan the group marked *B* is now known as the Baum works. An ancient village once stood near the right bank of Paint Creek, Ross County, Ohio, just north of the works, surrounding the mound which is shown about midway between the creek and the embankment. The mound was omitted from the engraving. The examination of the village site, made a few

years ago, proved of much interest, and the similarity of material recovered from it, and the manner in which the remains of the dead had been deposited, showed clearly the connection between the people of this ancient settlement and those of other towns which once stood in the valleys of the Scioto and the Miami and elsewhere in the adjacent region.

The indications of 49 dwellings or other structures were encountered, and scattered over the area of about 2 acres, around and between the houses, were discovered 127 burials and 234 caches—pits of various sizes in which food supplies were stored, and which may have served other purposes as well. The dwellings at this ancient village, as shown by the postholes which outline the floor spaces, were invariably of a circular form, but the largest structure revealed during the exploration of the site was "of oblong construction and measuring upwards of twenty-one feet in length by twelve feet in width inside of the posts. The posts were large, as shown by the postmolds, and consisted of twenty-one set upright in the ground, the smallest being five inches in diameter and the largest nine and one-fourth inches. On the inside seven other posts similar in size to the outer ones were promiscuously placed, presumably for the support of the roof." (Mills, (1).)

A plan of this structure with its accompanying burials on the south and a group of caches and fireplaces on the north is reproduced in figure 16. In many of the caches were traces of the corn, beans, nuts, and other supplies which they once contained. But now the majority when opened are filled with camp refuse, intermingled with various objects of native origin which had probably been accidentally lost rather than having been intentionally deposited. The burials encountered at this site were 30 in number, thus constituting the most extensive group discovered, and of these only 10 were adults. This may be regarded as a typical cluster of graves as "each family group had their own private burial ground," and the graves were seldom more than 10 feet from the habitation. "Another form of burial occasionally met with in the family groups was where interment was made in one of the abandoned storehouses (i. e., caches). The head is bent backward and the legs are flexed so that the feet are very near the pelvis, and the whole body made to conform to the size of the pit. During the entire exploration only four skeletons were taken from the bottom of refuse pits." The caches thus appear to have been used rather as a matter of convenience, probably at some time when it would have been difficult to have prepared the usual form of grave, therefore the extended burial was the custom of the inhabitants of this ancient settlement.

The near-by mound, undoubtedly reared by the people whose dwellings lay scattered about it, contained various burials, extended,

and placed within inclosures formed of upright posts. The two inclosures, placed one above the other, were indicated by "two series of upright postmolds, averaging 5 inches in diameter, equidistant 10 inches, and forming a perfect circle 36 feet in diameter."

Many other timbers had entered into the construction of the inclosure; traces of fireplaces were visible with a mass of burnt clay

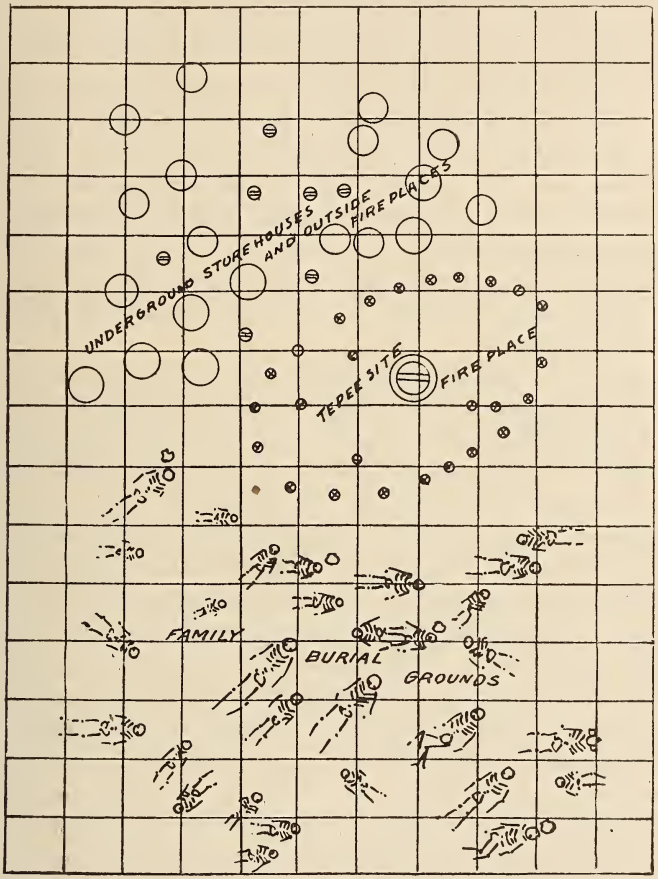

FIG 16.—Plan of a habitation, with near-by graves, Ross County, Ohio.

separating the two inclosures. The bottom of the lower one had evidently been covered with smaller timbers, and "all the skeletons discovered were in the area inclosed by these posts. They lay at different depths and in different positions, the favorite or predominant one, at least in the upper portion, being just inside and alongside of the inner circle of palings. The skeletons unearthed were all in a remarkably good state of preservation. None of them could have been intrusively buried." Sixteen skeletons were discovered, all except one "lay stretched out at full length," and the single one

"lay partly upon the side, with knees drawn up and head crouched down upon the ribs, as though originally placed in a sitting posture." (Thomas, (1), pp. 484–488.)

Therefore, the two characteristic features revealed at this site were, first, the great number of caches, and, second, the method of burial, evidently all the dead having been interred in graves near the habitation, cremation not being practiced. Quite similar to the preceding were traces of an ancient village, with its accompanying mound, which stood some 6 miles north of Chillicothe, Ross County, Ohio, on the east side of the Scioto, this being the left bank of the stream. "The village site proper occupies between 3 and 4 acres of land and entirely surrounds the mound. However, directly south and southeast of the mound, surface indications are richest, for here our examination showed the earth was intermingled with the refuse from their homes to the depth of from 1 foot to 20 inches. . . . Directly to the south and less than one-half mile is what is known as the Cedar Bank Works, which has been described by Squier and Davis."

No traces of a village were discovered nearer the inclosures, and so it appeared reasonable to attribute their origin to those who once occupied the settlement less than one-half mile northward. The entire site was not examined, but "as the examination progressed it was soon discovered that the inhabitants of this village lived in small clans or family groups. Although only 15 skeletons were unearthed in the examination of this village, there is no doubt but that burials were made along the hillside which surrounds the village on three sides." Describing the burials discovered near the sites of the dwellings it was said: "The dead were evidently buried in close proximity to the habitat of these people and were similar in every respect to the burials in the Baum village site, along Paint Creek. Each family apparently had their own burial ground, which was in close proximity to the home. No evidence was found that the bodies had been placed upon scaffolds and afterwards reinterred. In the majority of the graves the body was placed at full length . . . however, a single burial was found in the bottom of a refuse pit." No cremated remains were discovered outside the mound which stood near the center of the ancient village.

The examination of the mound proved of the greatest interest. It "was made up of three separate and distinct sections, as is shown in figure 17. The burials in the first section differed greatly from those in the second and third, which were similar. In the first section the bodies had been cremated and the ashes with the personal belongings had been deposited upon a prepared platform of earth; while in the second and third sections the inhumation of the bodies

were in every portion of the mound as well as below the base." In the first section, resting upon the platform which measured about 34 by 23 feet, was a great mass of ashes, in places 2½ feet in thickness. Much of this may have resulted from the cremation of human bodies, but "with the ashes were unburned animal bones which had been intermingled with the incinerated human bones, as well as implements and ornaments made of bone, stone, and shell, which were no doubt the personal property of the deceased. The animals identified as they were removed from these ashes were the black bear, beaver, deer, elk, raccoon, wolf, gray fox, musk rat, ground hog, opossum, and mink. The bones of various birds, such as the wild turkey, great horned owl, trumpeter swan, and wild goose, were also found. Quantities of mussel shells, as well as the bones of the fresh water drum, were also removed."

One of the burials encountered during the exploration of the mound "was buried three feet below the base line. The skeleton was placed on the right side, facing the east. Near the head was found a per-

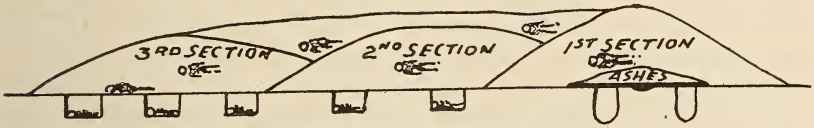

FIG. 17.—Section of the "Gartner Mound."

fect piece of pottery," and near by was a mussel shell which had served as a spoon.

Scattered over the site of the village, surrounding the areas once occupied by the dwellings of the inhabitants, were many caches, more than 100 being discovered, and these were in all details similar to those which abound on the ancient sites in Paint Creek Valley. The entire account of the examination of the mound and surrounding village site, standing on the bank of the Scioto, is of much interest. (Mills, (2).)

The descriptions of these two sites, so similar to each other, with the numerous caches now filled with the accumulation of camp refuse, intermingled with objects of native origin, and with the remains of the dead occupying positions near the traces of the small habitations which once stood surrounded by vast forests, readily suggest the account of the discoveries made on the bank of the James, near Gala, in Botetourt County, Virginia. So alike are the descriptions that all the settlements could justly be attributed to the same people. Again, certain objects found on all are quite similar. The sites on the James and in piedmont Virginia are accepted as marking the positions of towns of Siouan tribes and were probably occupied when Jamestown was settled. The upper Ohio Valley was, according to tradition, the home of Siouan tribes before their migration westward, down the

stream to the Mississippi and beyond. Therefore it is reasonable to regard the two ancient sites already mentioned, one on the bank of Paint Creek, the other bordering on the Scioto, as the remains of Siouan villages peopled generations ago.

The Siouan family, now and probably always quite numerous, could have spread over the hills and valleys bordering the Ohio and could have been the builders of the numerous earthworks. Crania recovered from graves in this region are not to be distinguished from those of the present-day Osage, and certain customs of the latter, as in establishing their camps and enacting their ceremonies, could readily be carried back to the use of great circles and other figures. But with a decided change of habitat, leaving their long occupied towns and entering a new region, and thus probably for several generations becoming nomadic rather than sedentary, and more expert hunters than agriculturists, they no longer erected great works but sought new homes under changed conditions. The cause or causes of this great tribal migration may never be determined. Whether voluntary or enforced may ever remain unsolved, but it is difficult to picture a people abandoning their homes, with the extensive works revealing the results of great labor, unless for some vital reason.

The mound which stood near the left bank of the Scioto less than one-half mile north of the Cedar Bank Works revealed two forms of burials. The later was the inhumation of the entire bodies, extended and at different levels, but the earlier proved the practice of cremating the dead and depositing the ashes, together with various objects, on a previously prepared platform of clay. Whether this should be regarded as representing a period of transition or as merely revealing the customs of two or more branches of the tribe may never be determined; nevertheless the most interesting discoveries yet made in the valley of the Scioto have been associated with cremated human remains.

A short distance east of the Scioto, about 8 miles south of Chillicothe, in Ross County, Ohio, stood a group of earthworks of characteristic forms, including various mounds. The largest mound of this group measured about 160 feet in length, with a maximum width of 85 feet and a height of 16 feet 3 inches. Various attempts had been made in the past to examine it, but without discovering its true character. However, the final examination proved "the object of the mound was purely mortuary, and the site of the mound a charnel house until it was filled with graves, when the house was destroyed by fire and a mound erected as a monument to the dead. All of the graves in the mound showed a careful preparation for the reception of the remains." (Mills, (3), p. 82.)

The careful examination of the base of the mound made it possible to gain a very good conception of the nature of the ancient structure

which once occupied the site. And to quote at length: "The site of the great mound had been properly prepared and its beginning was at the south end of the mound, marked by large posts set in the ground at a depth varying from two and one-half to three feet. The south end of the enclosure was made in the form of a semicircle, and the sides continuing in a straight line north for sixty feet, when the line of posts was turned at right angles to the east wall and running across toward the west side, where an opening was left for an entrance. This enclosure of sixty feet in length measuring from the center of the circle on the south to the row of posts running across the mound at right angles to the outside walls, forty feet in width at the north end, was no doubt the first structure or enclosure for the reception of the dead. The second enclosure was merely a continuation of the outside walls of the first, extending some seventy feet directly to the north . . ." During the final work a total of 133 burials were encountered, and of these 128 were cremated. "All the burials, whether cremated or uncremated, were placed in a prepared grave and great care and some degree of skill was displayed in their construction. The graves of the cremated were similar to each other so far as the outside construction was concerned, but unlike in the general make up of the inside of the grave. Out of one hundred and twenty-eight graves unearthed, four different types were found, and these were many times duplicated during the explorations. First. The plain elevated platform made of clay and usually elevated from three to six inches above the prepared platform. . . . These plain platforms averaged in length about four feet and in width two and one-half to three feet. The logs were usually made the exact size of the graves. In a few instances they extended over at one end or the other, and not a single grave was found on the base of this entire mound that did not show the use of logs as an outline for the grave. In many instances the logs were put in place upon the platform and plastered over with this clay, and then the inside of the grave was made. . . . Second. The next type of grave was similar to the first and apparently made in the same way, with this difference: the top of the platform was cut out and made in the form of a basin, varying in depth at the center from two to four inches. . . . Third. Elliptical shaped grave. In this form of grave the platform was similar to the other graves, but the timber used in the construction of the outside portion was made of small pieces of logs and the clay plastered over them. . . . This form of grave would vary in depth from four to eight inches. . . . Fourth. The grave made in the form of a parallelogram. This form of grave was found in various portions of the mound and was constructed similar in every respect to the other types, the logs being put in place and plastered over, while the inside was removed to a depth varying from four to twelve inches. For the

uncremated similarly prepared platform graves inclosed by logs were made, and the body was placed at full length within the inclosure." The objects of native origin associated with the cremated remains were many cut, polished, and perforated teeth of the bear, copper ear ornaments, a platform pipe, and other objects of stone. With the extended burial were masses of ashes. "This individual was placed in the grave at full length, with him were ornaments of copper, such as the ear ornaments, which can be seen at the side of the head, and a great copper plate which is under the loins. The ornaments are similar to those found in the cremated graves. On the right hand side of the body, as it lay in the grave, was placed the incinerated remains of an adult, on the left hand was a human skull, and near the head on the left side of the body, was placed another cremated skeleton; near the knees on the right side of the body, was placed the skeleton of a little child, and near this skeleton were two human jaws, perforated, and which no doubt had been used for ornament." And so the plausible conclusions were reached "that this mound must be considered purely as a burial mound; that no altars occurred in the mound; that all burials had prepared graves; that for the most part cremation took place at the charnel house where eight great fire places were found, which were perfectly devoid of ashes except in one, where a small charred piece of human skull was found, thus indicating that these fire places were used for the crematory." In many cases the remains had probably been cremated in the grave, and there allowed to rest.

The prepared graves as described in the preceding account were the "altars" of the earlier writers, and as such were often mentioned. Many, discovered and examined during the latter part of the first half of the last century, were described by Squier and Davis, but unfortunately they seemed to have failed to recognize the true nature of these most unusual resting places for the ashes of the dead.

Another ruin of the greatest interest remains to be mentioned—one which has revealed more clearly than any other certain customs of the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Scioto. This stood a short distance from the Ohio, some 5 miles north of the present Portsmouth, near the right bank of the Scioto, and was first surveyed by Whittlesey, whose description was incorporated by Squier and Davis in their justly praised volume. It was then regarded as representing an animal of some sort, and was referred to as an Animal Effigy, a mistake, if mistake it really was, which could readily have been made. It later became known as the Tremper Mound, named after the owner of the land upon which it stood. It proved a remarkable work, and to quote from the account of the examination: "The mound marks the site of a sacred structure, wherein its builders cremated their dead, deposited the ashes in communal receptacles, made simi-

lar disposition of the personal artifacts of the dead, and observed the intricate ceremonies incident to funereal rites. The builders of the Tremper mound had arrived at a cultural stage where united or communal effort in great part replaced individual endeavor, and in so doing had reached a plane of efficiency probably not equalled by any other people in the stone age period of its development." (Mills, (4), p. 238.)

In the mound already described, which belonged to a type found in the region, the cremated remains were deposited in individual graves, each of which had been separately prepared. Thus the "graves soon exhausted the available floor space, while in the Tremper mound plan, burial was limited only by the size of the communal depositories, the number of which, moreover, easily could be increased if needed."

The surface of the mound had been cultivated for many years, and this must necessarily have made a great change in its appearance since the survey made by Whittlesey. In 1915 the greatest length of the work was 250 feet, its width 150 feet, with a maximum altitude of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet. A building of unusual form and of irregular outline once stood here. "The remarkably distinct floor, which in every part of the mound was readily distinguishable from the earth composing the mound itself, greatly facilitated the locating of the rows of postmolds, marking the outline of the structure, as well as of the various rooms and compartments thereof. Approximately six hundred of these postmolds were noted." A plan of the floor of the ancient structure, with the positions of the fireplaces or crematories, the depositories for the ashes, and the great cache, is reproduced in plate 17, *b*.

The large depository near the northeast corner of the inclosed space, and bearing the number 8 on the floor plan, "was in the form of a parallelogram, ten feet three inches long, and five feet wide, with a central depth of six inches. The bottom measured six feet and six inches long by thirteen inches wide, its surface being perfectly flat and level. The grave was filled with human ashes and charred bone to a depth of a little more than one foot; these ashes however, were very compact, and originally must have been piled high above the rim of the basin. The contents of the depository no doubt represent the remains of hundreds of cremated bodies, indicating the use of the grave for a long period of time." The richness of the material discovered in the caches proves the importance of the site in prehistoric days.

For the sake of comparison it is interesting to be able to present a reproduction of Whittlesey's plan of this mound and the surrounding embankment. The original, now in the Library of Congress, is shown in plate 17, *a*. This was engraved and used by Squier and

Davis as No. 2, Plate XXIX, in Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. The irregular work was compared "to the animal-shaped mounds of Wisconsin." Its height was given as from 1 to 8 feet, and "of the form and relative size indicated in the plan." But, unfortunately, no attempt was made to examine the interior.

CONCLUSION

With the development of the country between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, the cutting away of the great virgin forests and the cultivation of the soil, the erection of new towns and the expansion of the older ones, all traces of the former period of aboriginal occupancy are rapidly disappearing. The native villages no longer stand and the sites of many are now covered by cities, each having a population greater than that of all the tribes east of the Mississippi three centuries ago. The ancient mounds and earthworks are being leveled by the plow, and in the cemeteries the remains of the dead are fast crumbling to dust. Thus is passing all evidence of those who occupied the land when it was entered by Europeans. And although much still remains to indicate the positions of Indian settlements, nevertheless it is easily conceived that little will be discernible by the close of the century. Considering this great change which has occurred within a few generations it is interesting to study the peculiar manners and customs of the native tribes of this part of North America.

On the preceding pages are revealed some of the burial customs of the native tribes, as practiced by them when first visited by Europeans, and as described and recorded in the journals and accounts prepared by the early explorers and missionaries.

The vast territory was the home of many tribes, some small, others larger, forming groups in which the different tribes were connected linguistically. Often the tribes of one linguistic family possessed many customs in common, but this was not true of all. In every section of the country it has been possible to identify the makers of a large proportion of the ancient graves, although seldom did one tribe follow a single method of disposing of their dead to the exclusion of all others; nevertheless every tribe appears to have had some characteristic form of burial. But the identification of many burials in some parts of the country is made especially difficult by reason of the tribes having moved about from place to place. This is particularly true of the region north of the Ohio, where, during the past two and one-half centuries, the Algonquian tribes have seldom remained long in any locality, but during the same period the southern tribes have been more sedentary, and where many were discovered by the Spaniards about the year 1540, they continued to dwell for three centuries. Now, summarizing the many quotations brought together, it is evi-

dent the Algonquian tribes of New England deposited their dead in pits, after the remains had been wrapped and tied, usually with the legs drawn up and folded against the trunk. And it is evident that some among them followed a strange custom of depositing a large quantity of pulverized red oxide of iron in the pits with the remains, and that the custom was followed long after the settlement of Plymouth is indicated by the discovery made a few years ago in Warren, Bristol County, Rhode Island. Quite similar were the pit burials of the Iroquoian tribes west of the Hudson, although the people of a restricted area, dominated by the Hurons and ancient Neuters, had a very elaborate method of disposing of their dead which culminated, about once in 10 years, in a great communal burial, when the remains were collected and deposited in large pits, or ossuaries, lined with rich furs, and which were later covered with brush and earth.

The Algonquian tribes farther west followed various customs. Some had a form of scaffold burial, others bound the bodies in skins or mats, and, thus wrapped, suspended them among the branches of trees, and it is evident these were the "lofty coffins" of an early French narrative. And in some instances the bones were later gathered and deposited in graves, thus probably explaining the occurrence of disarticulated skeletons in stone-lined graves, so many of which have been discovered in graves not more than 2 feet in length, and these small graves were thought by the early explorer to be the burial places of a race of pygmies. Again some of these tribes resorted to cremation as a means of reducing the bulk of a body when it was desired to transport the remains from the place of death to another locality, often the home village of the deceased, for burial. Evidently the Algonquians seldom burned the bodies of their dead unless for some particular reason, as just mentioned, but among the ancient inhabitants of southern Ohio, undoubtedly Siouan tribes, the art of cremation had become highly developed, and the ashes were deposited in great structures, erected for that purpose, and probably dedicated to that use alone. And it is apparent from discoveries made during the past years that offerings made to the cremated dead included the richest possessions of the living.

The Algonquian tribes of tidewater Virginia, those forming the Powhatan confederacy so famed in the early days of the colony, had two distinct ways of disposing of their dead. The bodies of the more important members, the chief men and others, were prepared, dried, and certain organs removed, then laid in the *Temples*, one of which stood in every village. Such was the structure described by the artist, John White, a member of the English expedition of 1585. The other members of the tribes were buried in pits, thus resembling the general custom of the northern Algonquians.

The Siouan tribes of piedmont Virginia, or some of these tribes, may have followed customs not unlike those of the Hurons and Neuters, but instead of depositing the accumulated remains in great pits they were placed on the surface and covered over with earth, later another layer of bones and another mass of earth, until a mound many feet in height was formed.

The southern country was occupied for the most part by tribes of the Muskhogean linguistic family. The Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creeks were members of this group. The Choctaw dead were first exposed until the flesh could easily be removed, when the bones were collected, cleaned, and placed in baskets or other receptacles, then deposited in a "bone-house," a structure resembling the *Temple* of the ancient tribes of Virginia. Later, on a day chosen for the ceremony, the remains were carried from the "bone-houses" and placed on the surface, in the form of a pyramid, and when so arranged all were covered by a mass of earth, thus accounting for the numerous small mounds standing in the country once occupied by their many towns and villages. In some instances the bones were placed in earthenware vessels, which are now found containing the crumbled remains, although the great majority were in baskets or wrapped in skins, all traces of which have long since disappeared. But very different were the customs of the Chickasaws and Creeks, who usually buried their dead, soon after death, beneath the floor of the house in which they had died. In some instances the houses were then abandoned or destroyed by fire, but at other times they continued to be occupied by the survivors.

Among some tribes, both in the north and in the far south, when it became necessary for the inhabitants of a town to remove to a new locality, their dead would be transported from the old to the new settlement, a trait which proves the reverence in which they held the memory of the departed.

Only one instance can be cited where objects found in contact with burials had apparently been made especially for the purpose of being placed in the graves. This refers to the small thin earthenware vessels discovered in the stone graves in Missouri, as described. These small, delicately formed bowls would have been of no practical use to the living, being very fragile and composed solely of clay without the usual admixture of pulverized shell or sand, and consequently they may be considered as mortuary bowls, fashioned to hold the offerings to the dead, to be placed in the graves with the remains.

Such, briefly told, were the burial customs of the native tribes who once occupied the region from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, but of whom all traces are now disappearing.

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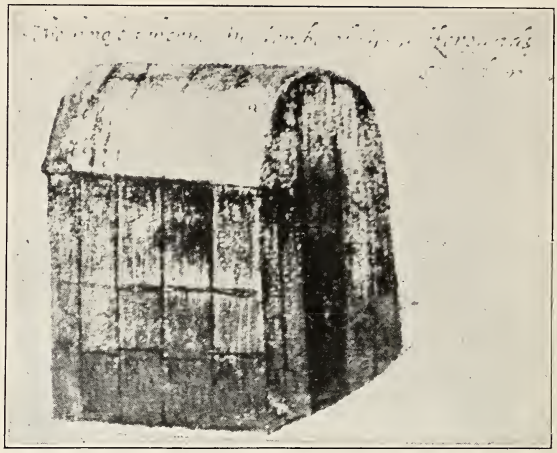
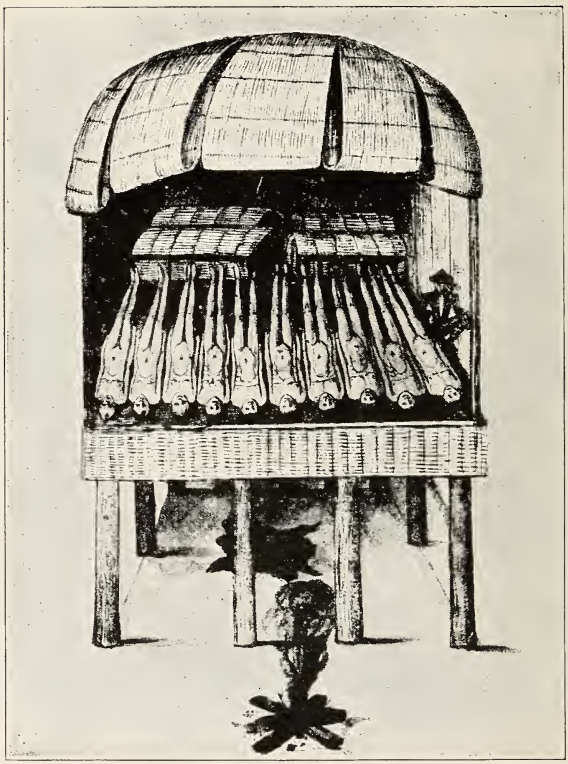
b. BURIAL AT WINTHROP, MASS.



a. "TEMPLE" AT SECOTAN, 1585



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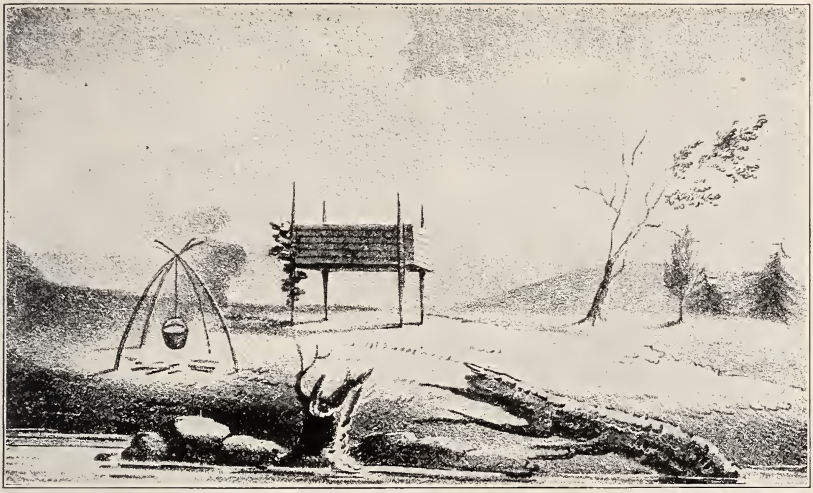
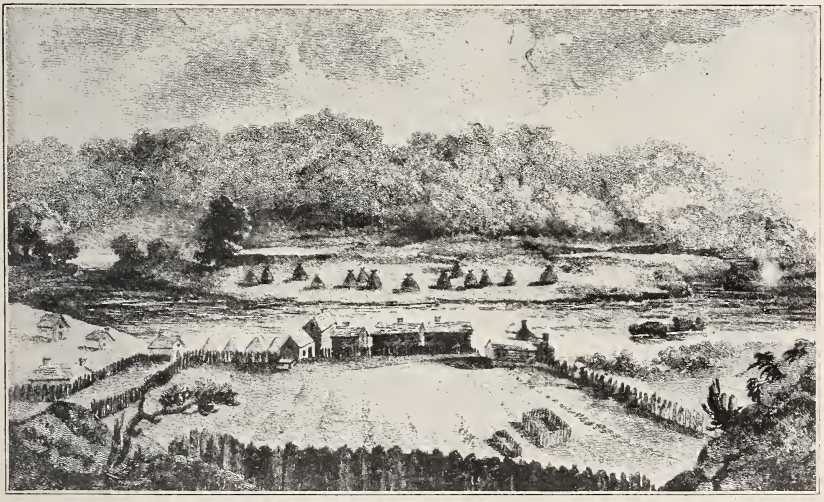
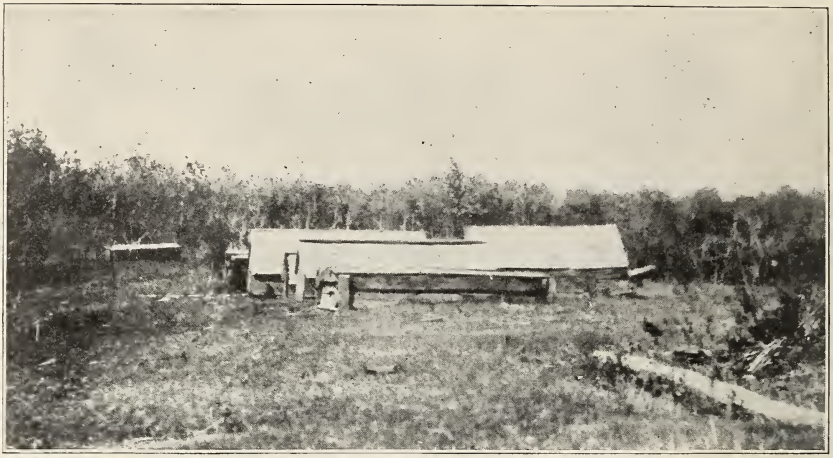


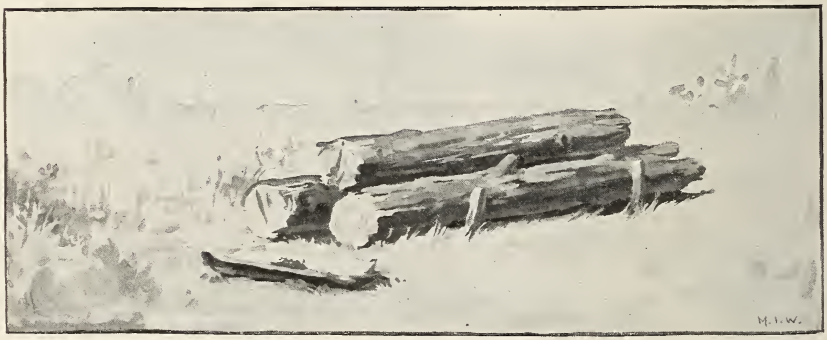
a. CHIPPEWA GRAVE AT FOND DU LAC, 1826



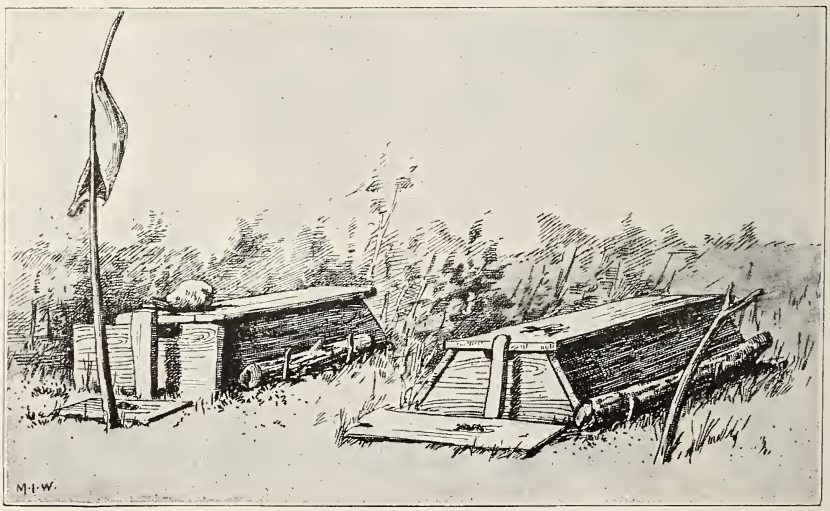
b. AMERICAN FUR COMPANY'S POST AT FOND DU LAC, 1826



a. OJIBWAY GRAVES AT MILLE LAC, MINNESOTA, 1900



b. OLD FORM OF MENOMINI GRAVE COVERING



c. LATER FORM OF SAME

a. STONE-LINED GRAVE, DECATUR COUNTY, TENNESSEE. OPEN

b. SAME GRAVE BEFORE THE COVER WAS REMOVED

a. STONE-LINED GRAVE, MARSHALL COUNTY, ALABAMA, OPEN

b. SAME GRAVE BEFORE REMOVING COVER

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b. LARGE GRAVE IN MOUND IN WARREN COUNTY, KENTUCKY

a. SMALL STONE-LINED GRAVE, JEFFERSON COUNTY, MISSOURI

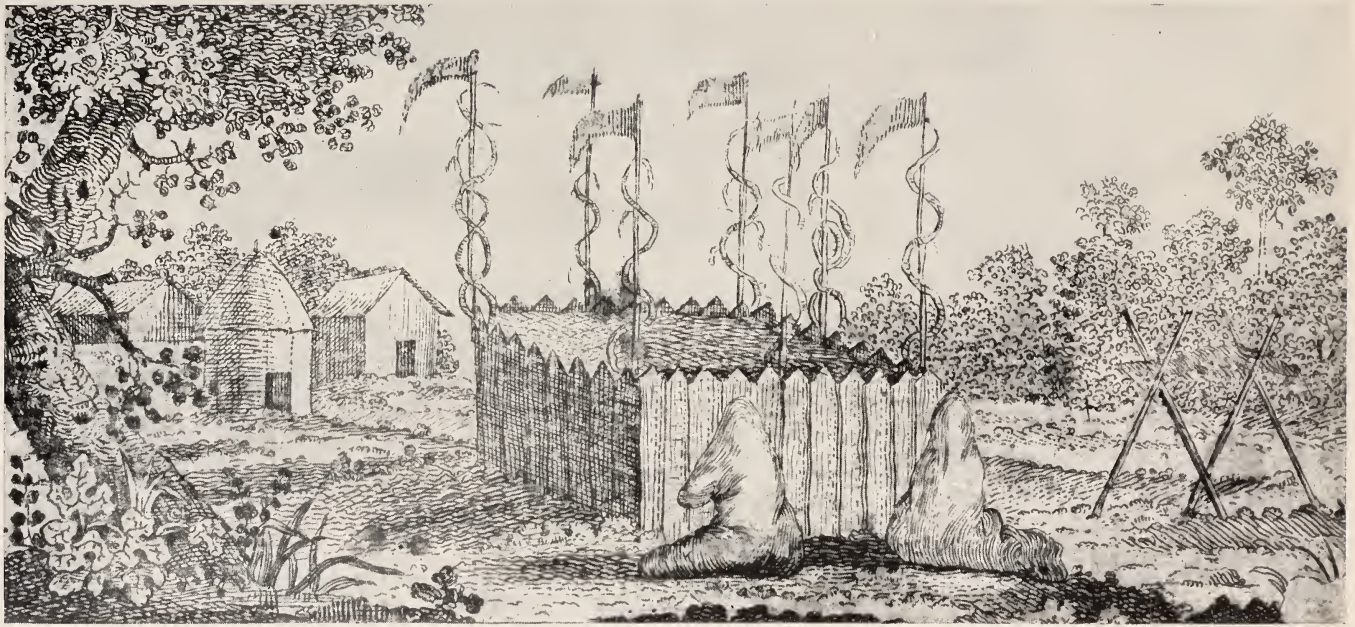
b. STONE-LINED GRAVE, JEFFERSON COUNTY, MISSOURI

a. SITE OF AN ANCIENT CEMETERY, CLINTON COUNTY, PA.

b. PARTIAL EXCAVATION OF OSSUARY, GASPORT, N. Y.

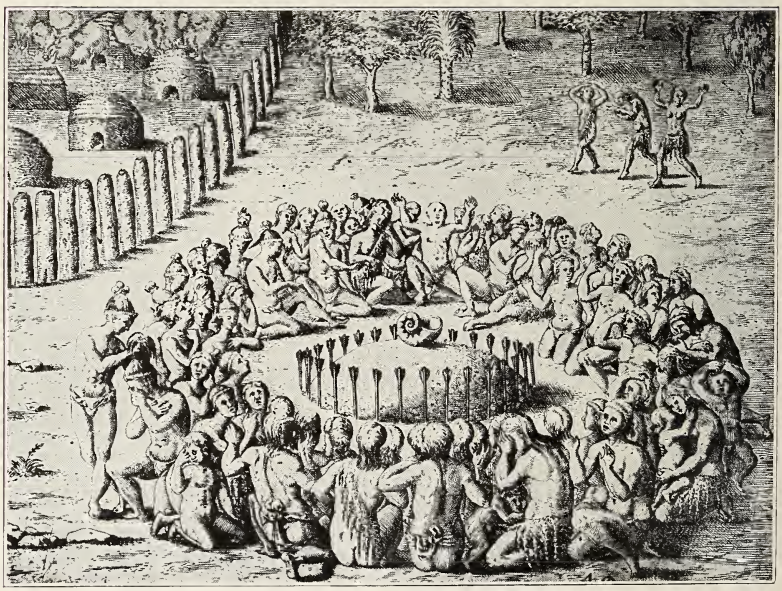
a. "THE MODE OF CARRYING THE SICK OR WOUNDED"

b. CEMETERY AT A SENECA VILLAGE, 1731



CHOCTAW BURIALS, 1775. FROM ROMANS

a. SEMINOLE GRAVE



b. BURIAL CEREMONY IN FLORIDA, 1564. FROM LE MOYNE

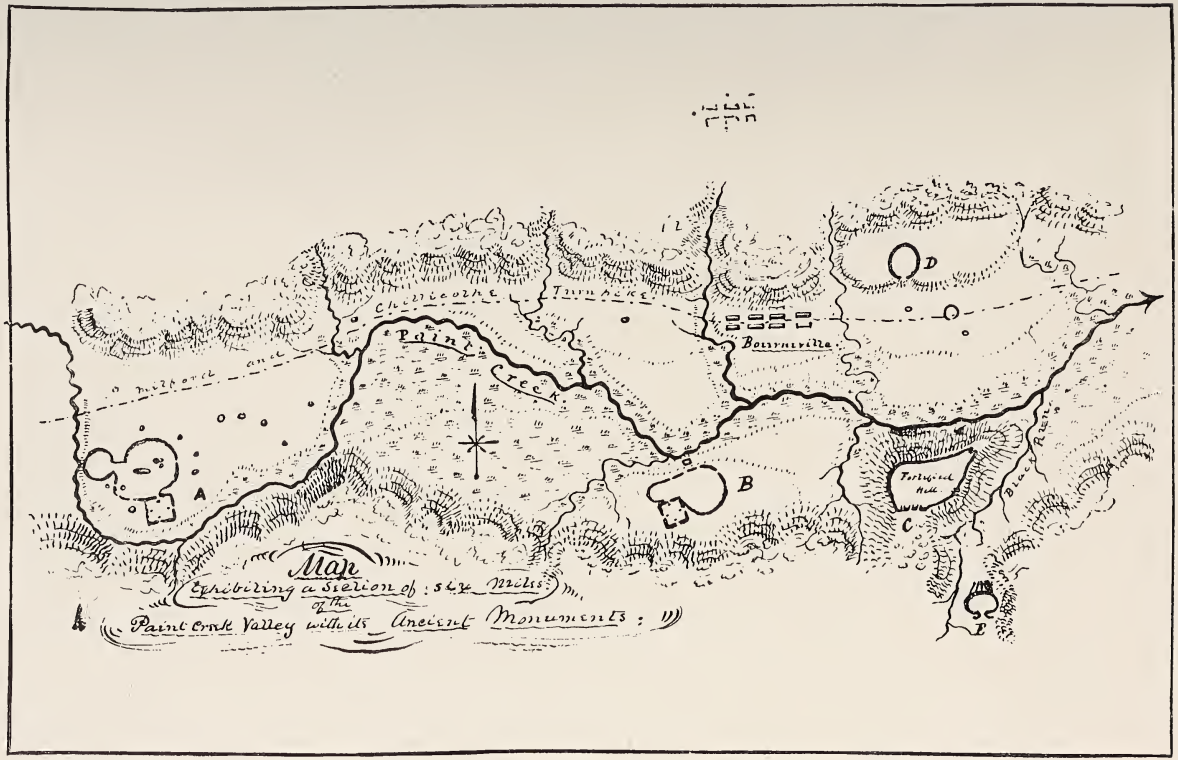
a. LOOKING NORTHWARD

b. THE CLIFFS

c. THE RIVANNA PASSING THE "LOW GROUNDS"

SITE OF MOUND OPENED BY JEFFERSON

GRAVE CREEK MOUND



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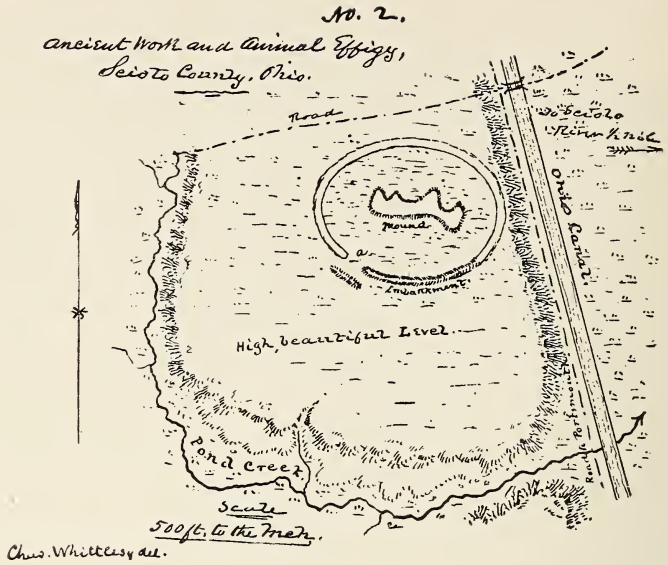

a. ORIGINAL SURVEY BY WHITTLESY

b. PLAN OF BASE AS REVEALED DURING RECENT EXAMINATION

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